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T H E
WORLD displayed ;
O R, A
CURIOUS COLLECTION
O F
VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

Selected from

The WRITERS of all NATIONS.

In which the

CONJECTURES and INTERPOLATIONS
O F

Several vain *Editors* and *Translators* are
expunged,

Every Relation is made concise and plain,

A N D

The DIVISIONS of *Countries* and *Kingdoms* are
clearly and distinctly noted.

Embellished with C U T S.

The Third EDITION corrected.

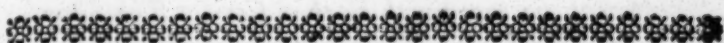
V O L. IX.

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MDCCLXXIII.





T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
N I N T H V O L U M E.

SIR HENRY MIDDLETON'S Voyage to the EAST
INDIES.

CHAP. I. *The Fleet arrives at Saldanna, where they recover the Sick, and trade with the Inhabitants; they then sail to the Island of Madagascar, and after staying three Days in St. Augustin's Bay, sail to the Island of Socotra, and cast Anchor at Tamarin, where Sir Henry visits the King, and is kindly entertained.* P. 1.

CHAP. II. *They sail to Aden, where Sir Henry leaves the Peppercorn, and proceeds with two Ships to Mocha. Three Gentlemen belonging to the Peppercorn seized, and many Arts used to prevail on the English to land their Goods, which failing, they make Prisoners of 20 more of the English; upon this Mr. Dounton sails with the Peppercorn in order to join Sir Henry at Mocha.* P. 5.

A 2

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

- CHAP. III.** *Sir Henry lands at Mocha. The Treatment he met with in that City. The Darling boarded by the Turks, who are slain by the Ship's Crew. The Aga in vain uses various Artifices to induce Sir Henry to deliver up the Ships. At length an Aga is sent from the Bassa of Zenan to conduct them thither; at which Time Captain Dounton arrives in the Peppercorn from Aden.* P. 12.
- CHAP. IV.** *Sir Henry and the rest set out from Mocha, and Mr. Pemberton makes his Escape. They are treated with much Kindness on the Road; but on their Arrival at Zenan, the Bassa at first treats them with great Rigour, till by the Interest of the Kiobya, and other Persons, they are permitted to return to Mocha, with a Promise of being sent on board their own Ships.* P. 24.
- CHAP. V.** *On their Arrival at Mocha they alight at the Aga's, where they are received with a Shew of Kindness. Mocha described. A Number of the English are sent on board. A Description of Assab Road. Sir Henry escapes on board, with most of his People.* P. 37.
- CHAP. VI.** *The Treatment of those left on Shore, after Sir Henry's Escape from Mocha. A Truce granted for 15 Days. The rest of the English released, and the Pinnace restored. Their Proceedings during their Stay in the Road of Mocha. They sail for Kamaran to intercept the Suez Ship, which slips by them in the Night.* P. 42.
- CHAP. VII.** *They arrive at Socotra, and proceed from thence to Surat, where they meet with many Obstructions both from the Portuguese Vessels.*

The CONTENTS.

sels, from Mokrib Khan, and the Indian Merchants ; with their Proceedings in the Road of Swally, near Surat. P. 53.

CHAP. VIII. *They sail from Surat, and proceed to Dabul : Take a Portuguese Ship, from which they indemnify themselves for the ill Offices done them by the Portuguese at Surat. They pass by Socotra, intercept the Indian Ships sailing to Mocha, and at length make every Vessel at Mocha pay a certain Sum of Money for Liberty to trade. The Peppercorn returns to England ; but the Trade's Increase is lost, and Sir Henry dies.* P. 65.

Mr. GROSE's Voyage to the EAST-INDIES.

CHAP. I. *Our Author sets sail in the Anson East-Indiaman, and arrives at Johanna, one of the Comro Islands, of which he gives a very particular Description.* P. 73.

CHAP. II. *The Author arrives at Bombay, which is described. An Account of its Government, and of the neighbouring Islands, with a Description of the Marattas. To which is added, a concise Account of the Settlements of the East-India Company.* P. 80.

The Voyage of Commodore ROGGEWEIN for the Discovery of SOUTHERN LANDS.

CHAP. I. *The Commodore sails from the Texel with three Ships. The ill Behaviour of a Swabber on board, and his Punishment. The Crew greatly distressed.*

The CONTENTS.

distressed for want of Water. They are surprized with a strange Phænomenon, and arrive off Porto, whence they proceed to St. Sebastian's. A Description of the Town of St. Sebastian, with some Account of the adjacent Country, and the Behaviour of the Governor till their Departure. P. 98.

CHAP. II. *The Squadron sails from the Coast of Brasil, and at length meets with a violent Storm, in which the Ships are separated from the Tienhoven. They discover an Island, to which they give the Name of Belgia Australis. Pass the Streights of Le Maire, and arrive at the Island Mocha; but finding it deserted by the Inhabitants, proceed to Juan Fernandes, where, to their great Surprise, they find the Tienhoven. Sailing from thence, they discover Pasch Island. The Inhabitants described; with some Account of the Country. They discover several other Islands, on one of which the African Galley is lost: These Islands and their Inhabitants described,* P. 112.

CHAP. III. *They discover several other Islands, in one of which they land by Force, trade with the Inhabitants, and procure Refreshments; but being sudden'y attacked, make a great Slaughter among the Natives, and with Difficulty reach their Ships. This Island with its Inhabitants described. They at length resolve to sail to the East Indies.*

P. 129.

CHAP. IV. *They continue their Voyage to the Coast of New Britain and New Guinea. Five beautiful Islands described. They make a Descent on*
New

The C O N T E N T S.

New Britain, but are soon obliged to re-embark. *A Description of the Islands of Moa and Arimoa. They discover a Multitude of Isles, to which they give the Name of the Thousand Islands. The Bird of Paradise described. They proceed to Japara, and from thence sail to Batavia, where their Vessels are seized, and the Men made Prisoners.* P. 137.

CHAP. V. *The Observations made by the Author on the State of Affairs in the East Indies, during the Time of his staying there, particularly the present State of Batavia. An Account of its Inhabitants, and the manner in which the Affairs of the Dutch East India Company are administered. Batavia, and the whole Island of Java more particularly described.*

CHAP. VI. *An Account of the Dominions and Settlements of the Dutch East India Company, particularly a Description of the Island of Ceylon: Of the Cinnamon-tree, and the Manner of fishing for Pearls. A Description of Ambonia, and of the Clove-tree. The Island of Banda described, and an Account of the Tree which bears Mace and Nutmegs: With a succinct Account of the four other Governments of Macassar, Ternate, Malacca, and the Cape of Good Hope. Of the four Directories belonging to the Company; and of their Commandories and Factories.*

P. 176.

CHAP. VII. *The Author sets sail for Europe, and arrives at the Cape of Good Hope, whence he proceeds to the Island of St. Helena, which is described. Sailing from thence the Ships touch at*
the

The CONTENTS.

the Island of Ascension, and are driven by hard Gales to the Azore Islands; after which they continue their Voyage to Holland, where Commodore Roggewein and the Crews obtain Satisfaction for the Injuries done them by the Governor General of Batavia.

THE



THE
VOYAGE
OF
Sir HENRY MIDDLETON
TO THE
EAST INDIES.
CHAP. I.

The Fleet arrives at Saldanna, where they recover the Sick, and trade with the Inhabitants; they then sail to the Island of Madagascar, and after staying three Days in St. Augustin's Bay, sail to the Island of Socotra, and cast Anchor at Tamarin, where Sir Henry visits the King, and is kindly entertained.

THE following curious and entertaining voyage was the sixth performed by order of the East India company, in which were three ships employed, the *Trade's Increase* of 1000 tons, commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, General; the *Peppercorn*, of 250 tons, and the *Darling* of 90 tons, together with the *Samuel*, a bark of 180 tons, which attended as a victualler.

This

2 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

This fleet sailed in *April* 1610, and on the 10th of *May* anchored in the road of *Cape Verd*, where they refitted their ships; took in fresh water, and dismissed the *Samuel*. On the 24th of *July*, they entered the road of *Saldanna*, Sir *Henry* went on shore, and two days after tents were erected for the sick.

Saldanna is a bay about 14 leagues to the north-north-east of the *Cape of Good Hope*. This was formerly an agreeable place of refreshment for the *English* ships, both outward and homeward bound, yielding abundance of sheep and horned cattle, which sold for trifles, as an ox for a piece of an iron hoop of 14 inches long, and a sheep in proportion; but they now found matters quite otherwise, yet for want of understanding the language of the inhabitants, they could not tell what to impute this alteration to. However, though the natives came down every day to their tents in fair weather, they could not, either by bribes or other means, procure any more for the relief of their sick men, than four cows, and seven sheep, and these cows were so old and lean, that the flesh was good for little, nor would they take iron for them; but insisted on having for each a thin piece of copper six inches square, and for a sheep a piece of three inches square, cut out of a kettle. Of this they made rings, six or eight of which they wore together on their wrists, and being bright and smooth, were esteemed great ornaments.

The ships having taken in water, and relieved their weak and sick men, with such refreshments

freshments as they could procure, set sail on the 13th with the wind at the south-south-east. On the 6th of *September*, they anchored in *St. Augustin's Bay*, in the island of *Madagascar*, where they continued three days. In this place they met with trees full of a fat yellow sap, to which fire being set, it ran blazing up, and caught the leaves and branches. As the natives, for some reason or other, forbore to come near them, they were unable to get any live cattle. They therefore weighed anchor, and on the 17th descried two islands, which from their likeness are called the *Duas Hermanas*, or the *Two Sisters*.

On the 25th, they anchored at the island of *Socotora*, about a mile from shore, opposite to the town of *Tamarin*, which is situated at the foot of high ragged hills, when the *Trade's Increase* fired five pieces of ordnance, the *Peppercorn* three, and the *Darling* one. Sir *Henry* then sent Mr. *Femel* on shore, handsomely attended, in the pinnace, covered with a crimson tilt. This gentleman was intrusted with a present for the King, consisting of a silver ten ounce cup gilt, a sword blade, and a cloth vest. The King received them by the water side, in a tent of an orange tawney colour, where he sat, attended by his principal subjects, and by a guard with small arms. He thankfully received Sir *Henry's* present, said that he was welcome, and expressed a desire to see him on land, promising him water free, and what else could be spared from the island, considering the drought, it not having rained there for two

4 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

years before; and having talked together for above an hour, his Majesty sent a present of twelve goats to Sir *Henry*.

The next day, Sir *Henry* landing with the chief merchant, and a guard of armed men, was conducted to the King's palace, where his Majesty met him at his chamber door. Being entered and seated in a chair, there passed many compliments, after which Sir *Henry* made some enquiries relating to the trade of the *Red Sea*. The King commended it highly, saying the people of *Aden* and *Mocha* were good people, and would be glad to trade with him. Sir *Henry* then desired to set up his pinnace, which the King refused to allow him to do in that road; for he was apprehensive, that if they staid to set her up in *Tamarin*, the merchants of other nations would be afraid to come thither.

The chief merchandize of this island is socotrine aloes, which is made of an herb resembling *semper vive*, or *houseleek*; but they do not make above a ton a year. It also produces a small quantity of dragons blood, some of which the factors bought at twelve pence a pound. The people make use of dates instead of bread, and these the King sold at five rials of eight the hundred weight. Bulls and cows are sold at twelve rials of eight a piece; goats at one rial, sheep and fowls at half a rial; all of which are exceeding small, from the barrenness of the island.



C H A P. II.

They sail to Aden, where Sir Henry leaves the Peppercorn, and proceeds with two Ships to Mocha. Three Gentlemen belonging to the Peppercorn seized, and many Arts used to prevail on the English to land their Goods, which sailing, they make Prisoners of 20 more of the English; upon this Mr. Downton sails with the Peppercorn in order to join Sir Henry at Mocha.

HAVING finished their business at this island, they set sail on the 17th of *October*, and in a few days arrived at *Aden*, where they anchored in 20 fathoms water before the town, which stands in a valley at the foot of a mountain, and makes a handsome appearance; it being encompassed with a stone wall, and defended by forts and bulwarks. Some time after a small boat came from the town with an *Arab* to view the ships, but he could not be persuaded to come on board; and the next day, another boat came from the town with three *Arabs*, who said they were sent by the Lieutenant Governor, to know what nation they were of, and their business there, adding, that if they were *Englishmen* they were heartily welcome; that the year before Captain *Sharpey* had been there, and from thence went to *Mocha*, where he sold all his goods. Sir Henry then asked one of them the name and character

6 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

of the Bassa, when he answered, that his name was *Jaffer*; that his predecessor was very bad, this little better, and that all the *Turks* in general were stark naught. These *Arabs* being asked, if *Mocha* was a good place for trade; they answered, that there was one man in the town who could buy all his merchandize. Upon this a present was prepared, consisting of a musket engraved after the *Turkish* fashion, and a sword blade, which were carried by Mr. *John Williams* and Mr. *Walter*, linguists, with other factors to accompany them. The *Turks*, not permitting them to enter the town, entertained them without the gate near the water-side, and with a shew of kindness told them, they had much familiarity with the *English* at *Stambol** and *Aieppo*; but did not mention a word of trade, though they dropped some hints, that they daily expected the arrival of 30,000 soldiers. These gentlemen easily perceived that these suggestions proceeded from fear, and therefore let them know that their Commander only desired that they would grant him, for his money, a pilot to conduct his ships to *Mocha*, to which the principal person replied, that he was only deputy to the Emir, who was out of town, but would return the next morning, and then sent Sir *Henry* a present of two *Barbary* sheep, and some plantains.

Early the next morning Sir *Henry* sent again to desire a pilot for *Mocha*, when his messengers were carried to the Emir's house, and en-

* Or Constantinople.

tertained with fair words : The Emir insisted upon not granting them a pilot, unless three of the chief merchants were left as hostages ; but hearing that the ships were under sail, he sent to desire Sir *Henry* to leave one ship at least behind, and to demand the price of several commodities ; but before the messenger could reach Sir *Henry* with this request, the *English* ships had turned the point, and not being able to get back again, on account of the current, cast anchor at the mouth of a bay on the south side of the town.

Sir *Henry* then perceiving several people fishing in the bay, and many persons of fashion on the hill, went towards the shore in his pinnace, to enquire when the current would change. At this the Deputy-Governor appeared angry, pretending that this was designed only to discover his strength, so that Mr. *Williams*, one of the linguists who was still on shore, was apprehensive they would have detained him. However the Emir, who was lately come to town, appeared less rigorous, spoke mildly, and granted a pilot for *Mocha*, desiring that one of the ships might stay to purchase the commodities of the country, observing, that the town had lost its trade by the ill usage strangers formerly met with from the Governors, which he endeavoured to restore, and proposed to make a beginning with them ; adding, that in case all the ships should depart without trading at the town, he should be blamed by the Bassa, his superior, who would impute it to his ill usage of them.

8 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

Sir Henry was willing to comply with this request, and the next morning sent Mr. *Williams* again to the Governor for the pilot he had promised the night before; but he was answered, that the pilot's wife would not let him go, unless four of the principal men in the ships were left as hostages for his return. Sir Henry, though highly displeased with this inconsistent conduct, resolved, according to his promise, to leave the *Peppercorn*; but though the Captain had before been allowed to land above one fourth part of the goods at a time, he was now directed to carry none at all on shore, for since the natives would not trust them with so mean a person as a pilot, but on such disgraceful terms, it was resolved not to trust them with their goods: but in case any of them were really wanted, it was agreed that they should buy and pay for them on board; but if their merchants were afraid of venturing, they should exchange hostages of equal number and quality, and if they did not like this, the ship should immediately follow the rest to *Mocha*.

At noon the *Trade's Increase* and the *Darling* departed, and the next day the *Peppercorn* endeavoured to get in, warping against the wind and current. The Emir of *Aden* now sent the boat and messenger on board, signifying his desire to speak to the merchants, to know whether they intended to trade with the town or not. Upon which Mr. *Fowler*, Mr. *Williams*, and the purser, landed, and informed the Emir in what manner they were to trade, which
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he not liking, and being afraid that the ship would depart as soon as they returned on board, thought proper to detain them, and shutting them up in prison, pretended that he stopped them for anchorage and other duties, amounting to 1500 *venetianos* * of gold at one rial and a half each.

Before this town the Captain remained till the 16th of *December*, in continual fear of the storms which are very common during this monsoon, and while he lay there he commonly sent his pinnace every two or three days on shore, with one or two men besides the cockswain's gang, to know how the factors did. These were always received very courteously; the soldiers particularly frequented their company, treated them with drink, and if any *Jew* or *Banian*, charged too much in the price of any thing, they were very ready to do them justice. When any number of soldiers or others came into the town, they were told that these were merchants who came to see if they had landed any of their goods. The factors also were for the most part kindly used, and many of the inhabitants went to see them; but these were only such as the Governor appointed to carry on his intrigue, and he at the same time took care not to permit even an *Arab* fisherman to go on board, lest he should give the Captain a true account of his designs.

Captain *Deunton* was informed by those he sent in the pinnace, that the city had been formerly great and populous, but that all the

* That is about 6s 9d. each *venetiano*.

10 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

houses in every part of the town were gone to ruin : that there were no shops with goods of any value, nor any who deserved the name of merchants ; and that money was so scarce among them, that whenever the *English* offered a piece of eight to be exchanged for aspers, they handed it about from one to the other, and gazed at it, as if it were a strange and uncommon sight, The Governor, however, made use of all his art to engage them to land their goods ; for as the time of his government was almost expired, he longed to appropriate them to his own use ; but Capt. *Downton* saw through his designs, and behaved with great precaution.

On the first of *December*, the Governor riding out of town, the three *English* gentlemen in prison were used with greater severity than before, and were obliged to pay as much for having provisions brought them as they cost. They were then told that the Emir was gone, and that a new one was to come in his stead ; but three days after he returned, and about midnight went to the prison, treated them kindly, and had a supper provided for them at his own expence ; when he promised that as soon as the trade begun, they should be set at liberty, without paying the 1500 venetianos formerly demanded. That the custom should be no more than five in the hundred, and ready gold paid down for the goods that were bought.

Some time after the boatswain informed the Captain, that he was in great want of small cordage, and desired that he and others might

go on shore, to make some on the strand by the town-wall. Capt. *Downton* upon this, imprudently sent to desire the Governor's permission, which was readily granted, and the men allowed the most convenient place they could find, with a house at night to lay up their tools in. This was what the Governor wanted; for the men were no sooner on shore, than he employed smiths to make shackles for them, and though some of them were informed of it by signs, they took it only for a jest. However, a few days after they were all bound, shackled, and pinioned; some of them put in the stocks, and all of them tortured and stripped. The pinnace was lost; its gang being among the rope-makers, they were all taken, and 20 persons in all deprived of their liberty, among whom were several officers, and two merchants, who had no business on shore. Some days after Capt. *Downton* finding they did not return, set sail for *Mocha* through the streights of *Babulmandel*, the entrance of the *Red-Sea*.



C H A P. III.

Sir Henry lands at Mocha. The Treatment he met with in that City. The Darling boarded by the Turks, who are slain by the Ship's Crew. The Aga in vain uses various Artifices to induce Sir Henry to deliver up the Ships. At length an Aga is sent from the Bassa of Zenan to conduct them thither; at which Time Captain Dounton arrives in the Peppercorn from Aden.

TO return to Sir Henry, who on his leaving Aden proceeded to the westward, and on the 14th of November in the morning, saw the headland going into the Red Sea rising like an island, 30 leagues from Aden. Having passed the streights of Babalmandel, Sir Henry sent his pinnace for a pilot to a village in a sandy bay, which returned with two Arabs, and about four o'clock they descried the town of Mocha; but endeavouring to get in, the wind being high, they split their main-top-sail, and losing their mizen, it also split; but what was worse, the pretended pilots brought the ship's Increase aground upon a bank of sand, as the wind blew hard, and the sea ran very high, they were all in fear of her being

at night a boat came on board from the Governor, with a very handsome Turk, sent by the

Governor, to know what they were, and their business. Sir Henry told him they were *English* merchants who came to trade; to which he replied, that if they were *Englishmen*, they were heartily welcome. He then hastened back to inform the Aga who they were, promising to return the next morning with boats to lighten the ship, which had run aground. He was called Lord of the Sea*, his office being to search ships, to prevent frauds in the customs, and to see that lighters are sent on board to unlade them. On the 14th, he returned early in the morning, with three or four other *Turks*, two of whom spoke *Italian*, bringing Sir Henry a small present from the Aga, with compliments of welcome, and offers of any thing the country afforded; saying, he should have as free a trade as at *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, or any part of the *Turkish* dominions. There came with him four or five lighters, in which the *English* put every thing that first came to hand to lighten the ship, and Mr. Femel speedily carried every thing he had on shore, before Sir Henry knew any thing of it, leaving nothing of his own in the ship that he thought worth regarding. However, all the money, elephants teeth, and shot, were sent on board the *Darling*.

The next day Sir Henry had a letter from Mr. Femel, to inform him, that he was kindly received by the Aga, with whom he had agreed to pay 5*l.* the hundred custom for all they should

* In Arabic *Amir Al Babr*.

14 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

sell, and that what could not be sold, should be returned on board custom free. He also the same day received a very obliging letter from the Aga, to assure him, that whatever the country afforded was at his service, and the same day they happily got the ship afloat again.

On the 19th, two boats came from Mr. *Femel* for iron, which Sir *Henry* sent, but wrote word that he would send no more goods till those already landed were sold. Mr. *Femel* in answer wrote, that if he intended to trade, he must come on shore according to the custom of the place, otherwise the people would not be persuaded but that they were pirates. The Aga also sent the interpreter to tell him, that if he was a friend to the Grand *Turk*, and a merchant who expected to trade, he intreated him to land, alledging that Captain *Sharper*, who had been there before, and all the *Indian* Captains constantly did so. Sir *Henry* was prevailed upon by these arguments, and landed the next day, when he was received at the water-side by several persons of distinction, and being attended by a band of music, was conducted to the Aga's house, where all the principal men were assembled. He was there seated close to the Aga, while all the rest were standing, and was loaded with compliments and welcomes. Sir *Henry* then delivered the King's letter with a present to the *Bassa*, which he desired might be sent as soon as possible. He also made the Aga a present, which he kindly received, assuring him, that he should not have
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the least molestation in his trade, and that if any of the inhabitants behaved ill to him or his people, he would see them severely punished. Then saying, it was customary for the Captains of all ships who came there to trade, to receive the Grand Signior's vest, as a testimony of his being under his protection, one of the principal persons helped him on with a vest of crimson silk and silver; and on his taking leave, a very fine horse richly caparisoned was brought him, which having mounted, he was conducted with music before him to a house appointed for his reception, where he dined, and prepared soon after to go on board. However, the Aga being very importunate with him to reside on shore, he consented, in order to see his pinnace rebuilt.

There passed not a day in which the Aga did not send Sir *Henry* some small present or other, and on the 28th he sent twice to desire him to be chearful, and to acquaint him, that as soon as their time of fasting was over, he would have him ride with him to his gardens, and other places of pleasure. The same afternoon Mr. *Pemberton* going on shore for cocoa-nuts, Sir *Henry* made him stay to supper, after which, the *Turks* would not permit him to go on board, saying, it was too late; but in the morning he might go as early as he pleased. Sir *Henry*, however, suspected no harm, and supposing the officer had presumed to act thus without orders, he intended to complain of him the next day.

At

16 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

At sun-set Sir *Henry* ordered stools to be placed at the door, where he sat with Mr. *Femel* and Mr. *Pemberton* to enjoy the fresh air. At about eight o'clock, a Janizary came from the Aga, to let him know that he sent his service, and desired him to be merry. Just at this instant, the interpreter was interrupted by Sir *Henry's* man running to him in a fright, and telling him, they were all betrayed; for the *Turks* and his people were fighting at the back of the house. They all instantly arose; the *English* in the house ran out, and Sir *Henry* himself running after the rest, called after them to return back, and secure themselves in the house, but while he was speaking, he was knocked down by one who came behind him, and remained as if dead, till the extreme pain he felt in having his hands violently tied behind him, brought him to his senses.

As soon as he was perceived to stir, he was lifted up, and two *Turks* led him between them to the Aga's, where he found several of his company in the same condition. By the way, the soldiers robbed him of his money; and three gold rings, one of which was his seal, and another had seven diamonds of value. Those who had escaped with life, were now put in irons, and Sir *Henry* with seven more were yoked together by the necks, in one chain: some of them were handcuffed, and others had fetters. Two soldiers who were left to guard them, having more humanity than the rest, took compassion on them, and made their bands more easy; for most of them had their hands

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tied



*Henry Middleton with seven of his
Men yeaked together with a chain.*

7 AP 53

tied so so tight behind them, as filled them with inexpressible pain, the blood being ready to burst out at the ends of their fingers. Sir *Henry* amazed at this treatment, now enquired into the affair; and was informed, that the house had been surrounded with armed soldiers, who, just before he was knocked down, basely fell upon the *English*, who were unarmed and defenceless, killed eight of them, and wounded 14 others.

The *Turks* having thus secured their persons, villainously attempted to seize the ships and goods. At about ten o'clock, 150 soldiers were sent in three large boats to take the *Darling*, which rode near the shore, and in order that they might pass for Christians, took off their turbans, and boarding her all together, entered most of their men, and did this so suddenly, that three of the *Darling's* crew were instantly slain; but by a happy mistake, the Commander of these *Turks* giving some orders to the soldiers, which they misunderstood, many of them leaped into the boats, and cutting the ropes drove away.

By this time the *Darling's* men had got their weapons, and the *Turks* standing very thick in the waste, shouting and clashing their swords, one of the company threw a large barrel of powder amongst them, and after it a firebrand, which setting fire to it, many of them were much burned, and the rest driven to the half deck and the poop, where they thought they should be more safe. There they stood the discharge of the musket-shot, and another bar-

18 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

rel. of gunpowder, which so terrified them, that some leaped into the sea, and others hung by the side of the ship, imploring mercy ; but the sailors killed all they could find, and the rest were drowned, only one man escaped, who hiding himself till their rage was over, was pardoned.

The boats returning to the shore, brought news that the ship was taken, for which there were great rejoicings ; and the Governor having sent off boats again to bring her up to the town, dispatched the interpreter to let Sir *Henry* know, that the small ship was taken. But when the boats came to the place where the *Darling* used to ride, they found her standing off under sail, and therefore immediately returned and told the Aga, that the ship had escaped, and they believed the Lord of the Sea, and his soldiers were all taken prisoners.

The Aga being vexed and disappointed at this news, sent for Sir *Henry* before it was day, who was brought to him with his seven yoke fellows. The villain, with a frowning look, now asked him, how he durst come into a port so near the holy city of *Mecca* ? Sir *Henry* answered, That he knew the cause of his coming, and that he did not land till after many earnest intreaties, and promises of kind usage. The Aga insisted that it was not lawful for any Christian to come so near their holy city, of which this port was the door, and that the *Bassa* had strict orders from the *Grand Turk*, to make slaves of all the Christians who should enter those seas, even though they had his

OWN

own pass. Sir *Henry*, replied, that the fault was his, for not telling him so at first, and deluding him with fair promises.

To add to Sir *Henry's* distress, the Aga gave him a letter from Captain *Downton*, to let him know of the treatment his men had met with at *Aden*. When he had read it, this cruel *Turk* asked the contents, which being told him, he rejoined, that since the writing of it, the ship had left *Aden*, and in her way to *Mocha*, struck on a rock, and sunk with all the men and goods. The Aga afterwards ordered him to write on board, to know how many *Turks* were in the small ship, and Sir *Henry* objecting that this would be needless, since she was in his own possession, he had the pleasure to hear the Aga say, that tho' she had been in the possession of the *Turks*, she had been rescued by the great ship. The Aga then pressed him to write to the people on board the great ship, to persuade them to deliver her up into his hands, upon which condition he would let him have the small vessel to carry him and his men home. But this Sir *Henry* absolutely refused, and tho' he threatened him if he continued obstinate to take off his head, he bravely continued inflexible. This unhappy Commander was then taken out of his chain and collar, in order to be separated from the rest; a great pair of fetters were clapped upon his legs, and manacles fastened upon his wrists, and in this condition he was lodged in a dirty dog-kennel, under a pair of stairs. However, at the intreaty of the Consul of the *Banians*, he was

20 *Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE*

taken out at night, and placed in a room with one of his sailors. But he had no other bed than the ground, and his only pillow was a stone. The room was also so pestered with rats, that if he chanced to fall asleep, he was soon awaked by their running over him.

About midnight came the Aga's Lieutenant, with a druggerman, or interpreter, and now intreated *Sir Henry* in very soothing terms, to write on board, to know how many *Turks* were prisoners, and what were their names; but by no means to mention what had happened to him and his men, but to say, that they were detained in the Aga's house till farther orders came from the Bassa, and that they wanted for nothing. He accordingly wrote to that purpose, and at the same time advised them to look well to their ships, and not to suffer any of their men to venture on shore. This letter was afterwards shewn to two or three of the other prisoners, to see whether *Sir Henry* had written according to his instructions. The purport of the answer was, that all the *Turks* were slain or drowned, except one common soldier, named *Rufwan*, and that they were glad to hear their Commander was alive, for *Rufwan* had told them, that he thought all the *English* were slain.

In this misery *Sir Henry* and the rest continued till the 15th of *December*, without hearing from the ships. The Aga came frequently to him, and sometimes by threats, and at others by fair means, urged him to write for those

those on board to come on shore, and surrender up their ships, but he still continued inflexible.

Those on board fared but ill themselves; for though they were at liberty, they rode in a wide open road, the wind continually blowing hard from the southward: their water also began to fail; for they had flaved 50 tons to lighten the ship at her running a-ground: besides their hearing nothing from land, gave them great uneasiness and perplexity. At length an honest fellow, named *John Chambers*, offered to go on shore to see what was become of the rest, chusing rather to hazard his liberty, and even his life, than to live with his companions in such perplexity. He was sent with a flag of truce, and set upon a small island a little to windward of the town, having an *Indian* with him for his interpreter. They were brought before the *Aga*, who asked *Chambers* how he durst be so bold as to come on shore without leave, to which he answered, that he was a messenger, and came with a flag of truce, which was permitted among enemies. The *Aga* asked what message he had to deliver. He replied, a letter to *Sir Henry*, and that he should be glad if he would give him leave to see how his countrymen did. The *Aga* then asking him several questions, ordered him and the *Indian* to be conducted to *Sir Henry's* dark cell, when he delivered the letter, with tears in his eyes, at finding his Commander in such a dismal place, and loaded with irons. Tho' *Sir Henry* could not believe that they would allow him to return. he next day delivered him

22 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

a letter, and contrary to his expectations, the *Turks* suffered this brave fellow and the *Indian* to return to the boat, with leave to come again the day following, if they had occasion. *Chambers* however returned alone, for the *Indian* was so frightened, that he durst not venture a second time: Sir *Henry's* servant sent several things by him to his master, which the *Aga* received, and kept for his own use: thus honest *Chambers* having done all in his power, returned on board, and left, to their fate, the General and the *English* on shore.

Sir *Henry* and the other prisoners expected every hour to receive sentence of death, slavery, or perpetual imprisonment. But when they least expected it, they met with some relief, for on the 18th of *Dec.* an *Aga* came from *Zenan* or *Sanaa*, with orders to bring up the *English*, and the rest of the prisoners; who being brought into the room, *Rejib Aga* the Governor of *Mocha*, asked Sir *Henry* how he durst be so bold as to come into that country, so near their holy city, without a pass from the Grand Signior, to which he answered, that the King his master was in league and amity with the Grand Signior, and that in the articles of peace between them, free trade was allowed the *English* throughout his dominions, of which *Mocha* being a part, they needed no pass. The *Aga* replied, that this was the door of the holy city; and therefore it was unlawful for any Christian to enter it. He then asked, whether he did not know that the Grand Signior's

sword

sword was long? To which Sir *Henry* boldly answered, that they were not taken by the sword, but by treachery, and, that if he and his people were on board, he should not care for the length of his, or of all their swords.

Ismael Aga, the messenger from the Bassa, now broke off this discourse, by telling Sir *Henry*, that he was come from the Bassa with an express order to conduct him and all his people to *Zenan*, advising him to send on board for warm cloaths, since he would find it very cold on the mountains. Sir *Henry* then intreated, that his poor men might be suffered to go on board, and that only himself and a few others might be sent; but *Ismael* said, it was out of his power to grant this request, the Bassa having given orders that all should attend him. However, *Rejib Aga* said he should in part have his desire; for the rest should remain where they were, till farther orders.

On the 20th, Captain *Downton* in the *Peppercorn* came into the road from *Aden*, and the next day sent a letter by honest *Chambers*, to acquaint Sir *Henry* with the misfortunes that had happened at *Aden*; and in return the latter gave him a brief account of his own; advised him by all means to return to *Aden*, till he had heard what was become of him; adding, that he had sent the *Darling* towards *Aden*, to give him notice of his being betrayed, and prevent his coming to *Mocha*, and that he and six more were the next day to set out towards *Zenan*.



C H A P. IV.

Sir Henry and the rest set out from Mocha, and Mr. Pemberton makes his escape. They are treated with much Kindness on the Road; but on their Arrival at Zenan, the Bassa at first treats them with great Rigour, till by the Interest of the Kiabha, and other Persons, they are permitted to return to Mocha, with a Promise of being sent on board their own Ships.

ON the 22d of December, the irons were knocked off the legs of all the *English*, except some who were sick, and the carpenters and smiths who staid to rebuild the pinnace, and Sir Henry with 34 persons more set out for Zenan, the residence of the Bassa: the whole company being mounted upon asses, except Sir Henry and Mr. Femel, who were allowed to ride on horseback; but at about ten at night, when they were near 12 miles from Mocha, Mr. Pemberton slipped away from them, and though the company missed him, they took no notice of it. About one in the morning they arrived at a town called *Mocossi*, when they were counted over without his being missed by their guard.

Mr. Pemberton was moved to this desperate attempt, by seeing such a number of them carried up together, manacled and conducted by a Captain and a guard of soldiers, whence he concluded that nothing else could ensue but
death

death or captivity, and this, indeed, was the opinion of them all. Sir *Henry* however met with several friends: one *Hamed Aga* sent him several presents, advised him not to be dejected, because his cause was good; he also gave him and his people bread for their journey, and letters to the *Kiahya*. The Consul of the *Banians* visited Sir *Henry* every day, and never came empty handed: one *Tookebar* was also their great friend all the time they were prisoners, and never failed to send each man, tho' they were 51 in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantity of dates or plantains every day. This worthy person set out from *Mocha* for *Zenan* two days before them, promising at his departure to do them all the service in his power, which he afterwards actually performed.

On *Christmas-day* they arrived at *Tayrz*, which is four days journey from *Mocha*; and marched into that city two and two in a rank, as captives taken in war do into *Constantinople*. The *Aga* rode in triumph, as a great conqueror, being met a mile out of the town by the chief men of the city on horseback, and the road for that space was lined with multitudes of people, who stood gazing at them, and in this manner they entered all the cities and towns through which they passed; and though it was very cold all the way from thence to *Zenan*, they were obliged to lie upon the bare ground. Most of the men being but thinly cloathed, Sir *Henry* bought them fur gowns, to prevent their perishing with the severity

26 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

rity of the weather: for every morning the ground was covered with hoar frost.

They were 15 days on the road, and on the 5th of *January*, 1611, two hours before it was light, came within two miles of *Zenan*, where they lay upon the ground till after the sun arose, by which they were so benumbed with cold, that when they got up they were scarcely able to stand. When they were within about a mile of the city, they were met by the subasha or she-riff, with at least 200 men with fire arms, drums and trumpets. The soldiers led the way, and the *English* were obliged to follow one by one, at some distance from each other, to make the better shew; and their gowns being taken from them, they were forced to march on foot in their thin and ragged cloaths. The ship trumpeters were placed next, and ordered by the Aga to sound, but Sir *Henry* who followed them, with Mr. *Femel* on horseback, forbade them. The Aga brought up the rear, riding in triumph with a spare horse, richly caparisoned, led before him.

In this order they marched through the midst of the city to the castle, the streets being all the way so crouded, that they could scarcely pass. At the first gate there was a large guard of soldiers: the second gate had before it two great pieces of ordnance, ready mounted, and having passed it, they came into a spacious court, twice the length of the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*. The soldiers at the gate discharged their pieces, and then placed themselves on each side the way, among many others who were there

there when they came. As soon as Sir *Henry* entered the court, he alighted, and was placed on one side with his men, where they had not been long, before he and Mr. *Femel* were brought before the Bassa. This was the divan or council day: at the farther end of the area they went up a pair of stairs, and at the top, two persons of distinction came and took Sir *Henry* by the wrists, and holding him very hard, led him to the Bassa, who sat alone at the upper end of a long spacious gallery, covered over with *Turky* carpets; many great men standing on each side, while others stood in two ranks from the lower part of the gallery, to the upper end.

Sir *Henry* being come within two yards of the Bassa was stopped, and the latter with a frowning and angry countenance, immediately demanded to what country he belonged, and what brought him into those parts. Sir *Henry* answered, that he was an *English* merchant, and being a friend to the Grand Signior, came to trade there. The Bassa replied, that it was not lawful for any Christian to set his foot in that country, and that he had ordered Captain *Sharpey* to caution those of his nation against coming thither. Sir *Henry* returned that Captain *Sharpey* was cast away upon the coast of *India*, and that had they known as much, they should never have run themselves into their present trouble. That *Rejib Aga* was the man who had abused him, by telling him those of his nation were welcome in that country, and should have as free a trade as in any part of *Turky*,

28 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

Turky, and that though he had made him many other fair promises, yet contrary to his word, he had assaulted them with armed soldiers, murdered several of his men, and taken himself and the rest prisoners. The Bassa answered, that as *Rejib Aga* was his slave, he had no power to make full promises without his leave, that what he and his people had suffered was by his order, agreeable to one he had received from the Grand Signior, commanding him to chastise all the Christians who should come into those parts. Sir *Henry* observed, that they had been great sufferers, and that if he was pleased to let them return to their ships, it would be a sufficient warning to his nation against venturing thither for the future. The Bassa however refused to let him depart; but said that he should stay there and write to the *English* Ambassador at *Constantinople*, and that he himself would write to the Grand Signior to know his pleasure, and whether he would permit them to trade there or not.

He then dismissed Sir *Henry*, bidding him go to the lodging prepared for him, and take four or five of his people along with him, which being done, they were conveyed to the keeper of the prison's house, and the rest to the common jail, where they were loaded with heavy irons.

It is remarkable, that when they were first brought before the Bassa, one of the boys thinking Sir *Henry* was led in this manner to have his head struck off, and that it would soon be

his

his own turn, fell into a swoon with the fright, and immediately falling sick, died soon after.

On the 6th of *January*, the Bassa's Kiahya or Lieutenant of the kingdom, to whom he had been recommended by the Banian of *Mocha*, sent for Sir *Henry* to breakfast with him, which being over, the latter gave him a particular account of the vile and treacherous manner in which he had been used by *Rejib Aga*, when the Kiahya comforted him with saying, that he did not doubt but all would be well in a little time, and that his best endeavours to serve him should not be wanting.

On the 7th, the Kiahya sent for him to his garden, where he gave an entertainment to him and Mr. *Femel*, and told him that he and his people should soon be set at liberty, and sent to *Mocha*, where he should have all his wrongs redressed. He also promised to be his friend, and before many great personages, both *Turks* and *Arabs*, declared that his kindness was purely for God's sake. The same day there came to town a *Moor* of *Cairo*, who was an old acquaintance of the Bassa's, and had lent him large sums of money at his coming from *Constantinople*, when he was but poor. This man was the next neighbour to the *English* at *Mocha*, when they were betrayed, and had a ship in the road bound for *India*, which he much feared they would have taken, in revenge for the wrongs they had suffered; but contrary to his expectations they let her quietly depart, and out of gratitude, he became their friend. He wrote a letter in their behalf to the Bassa, in

30 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

which he blamed him greatly for treating them with such severity; saying, that by such measures he went the way to destroy the trade of the country, and at his visit to the Bassa, he enlarged upon what he had written, and advised him to return the *English* all their goods, and to send them away contented. None in the country durst speak so boldly to the Bassa as he, and Sir *Henry* soon found that his letter and conduct had a very great effect. For it afterwards appeared, that the Bassa had intended to put to death all who came to *Zenan*, and to make slaves of the rest.

On the 8th, Sir *Henry* sent a petition to the Bassa to let him know, that at his leaving *Mocha*, he had ordered the commanders of his ships to forbear hostilities for 25 days, and afterwards to use their own discretion, if they did not hear from him in that time; and as it was almost expired, he desired that the Bassa would either condescend to determine his cause speedily, or afford him some comfortable news to write to them, to prevent the mischiefs that might follow.

On the 11th, Sir *Henry* was sent for by the *Kiahya*, who told him, that all things were now ended, and that he should only stay till the rest of his company came up from *Aden*, and then should be sent back to *Mocha*. Then on the 17th, 19 more of the company arriving from *Aden*, they were brought before the Bassa, who asked them the same questions he had put to Sir *Henry*, and afterwards three of the officers

officers were sent to keep him company, and the rest conducted to those in the common prison, where they were also put in irons, with an allowance from the Bassa of brown bread and water; but they would all have died of cold and hunger, had it not been for the relief they received from Sir *Henry*.

On the 25th the *Kiahya* sent for Sir *Henry*, and had some hours discourse with him. He let him know, that he would go with him to the garden of the Bassa, where he should have an opportunity of talking with him, and advised him to sooth that great man with fair words; but not to mention his restoring his goods and the pin-nace, till his return to *Mocha*, when he would solicit the Bassa on his behalf, and did not doubt of obtaining it. Sir *Henry*, however, thought it more proper to make this demand at that time, than afterwards, and the *Kiahya* bid him use his own discretion.

The chief cause of the *Kiahya's* being so much his friend, was Sir *Henry's* having promised him a sum of money; but, though he would not make the demand himself, he had appointed the consul of the *Banians* to treat with him about it, and as his demands were high, and Sir *Henry* was willing to part with little, they spent three or four days in debating on this subject; but at last he was obliged to promise after his release to pay him 1500 *venetianos*.

This agreement being concluded, the *Kiahya* took horse, and riding to the Bassa's garden,

32 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

ordered the druggerman to bring Sir *Henry* and Mr. *Femel* thither, where they staid at least an hour at the garden door before they were admitted to the Bassa's presence. They found him in a summer-house, seated in a chair with the *Kiahya* standing at his right hand, and half a dozen others at the back of the chair. Sir *Henry* was led by two men: who held him by the cloak till he came within two paces of the Bassa, Mr. *Femel* walking behind him without his leaders. The Bassa then asked Sir *Henry* how he did, and bid him be of good cheer, for he and all his people should have their liberty, and be sent to *Mocha*, to remain there, with 29 more, while the rest should be sent on board till all the ships from *India* were come into the port, and the wind settled westerly. After which they also should be allowed to return on board, and proceed on their voyage to *India*.

Sir *Henry* intreated him not to detain so many of them. To which he answered, I have spoken, and so shall stay. He then desired to know, if their goods and pinnace should be restored. The Bassa replied, No; for they were all put to the Grand Signior's account. Sir *Henry* told him several materials belonging to the ships were at *Mocha*, and desired they might be restored, and he promised they should. The Bassa then began to praise the mildness of his own temper, and took pains to make him sensible of his good fortune in falling into his hands; observing, that had it been in the time of any of his predecessors, they would all have

have been put to death, for their presumption in coming so near the holy city; and added, that what had happened, was by express order from the Grand Signior.

On the first of *February* the Kiahya sent for Sir *Henry* and Mr. *Femel*, advising them to wait on the Bassa, with the compliment of God give him joy of his late received dignity; for the Grand Signor had made him a Vizir, and sent him a sword and rich robes, as the marks of his investiture. These presents had been received two days before with great solemnity. The party who brought them being met by the Bassa and the chief persons of the city, with a body of horse and foot, six miles without the town; where a tent being set up, the Bassa put off the robes he had on before, vested himself in those sent him by his master, and now returned in great pomp, riding through the city to his own house. Sir *Henry* and his company, had a place appointed them, where they saw him make his entry, from whence they were conducted by their draggerman to the Vizir's palace, and did not wait long before they were admitted to his presence; when Sir *Henry* told him that he only came to congratulate him on his newly received honour, and to pray God to give him joy of it. The Vizir thanked him, and bid him be merry, for what he had promised he would punctually perform, and be even better than his word; and he took their visit on this occasion so kindly, that Sir *Henry* and Mr. *Femel* were permitted to kiss his hand.

34 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

Mean while many of the *Englifo* falling sick through grief, cold, bad air, diet, and lodging, Sir *Henry* never ceased soliciting the *Kiahya* till he had procured their discharge out of their loathsome prison; so that on the 11th they were all set free, and were allowed a house in the town, with liberty to walk abroad and take the air, and the next day that officer sent him six horned cattle for his men, by which means they soon recovered their health and strength.

Early on the 17th, the *Kiahya* sent for Sir *Henry*, Mr. *Femel*, and others, and told them, that the next morning they should depart for *Mocha*. After they had breakfasted, he went with them to take leave of the *Bassa*, who again began to extol his own clemency, and the power of the Grand Signior. At this Sir *Henry* intreated him to let *Rejib Aga* know the concessions he had made in his favour, lest he who was their mortal enemy, should continue to use them ill. But he answered with great haughtiness, "Is not my word alone sufficient to turn a whole city upside down? If *Rejib Aga* wrongs you, I will pull his skin over his ears, and give you his head. Is he not my slave?" This said, he ordered the *Kiahya* to write Sir *Henry's* dispatches.

Sir *Henry* on his leaving the *Bassa*, desired the *Kiahya* to permit him to buy a sword, that he might not ride down, as he came up, like a prisoner; which being told to the *Bassa*, he sent him one of his own old swords. That morning the *Kiahya* gave Sir *Henry* 100 pieces of

of gold of 40 madins each, though he had received 50 from him not many days before.

Sir *Henry* having afterwards paid all the prison dues, went to the *Kiahya's* garden, where he breakfasted, and received his dispatches, with a letter to the Governor of *Aden*, ordering him to restore the *Peppercorn's* boat; and a letter to the Governor of *Tayes*, commanding him to deliver a boy belonging to Mr. *Pemberton*, who had been left there sick, and compelled to turn *Mahometan*.

Zenan is somewhat bigger than *Bristol*. It is a walled city, and has a fort and castle on the east side, where the *Bassa* resides. The houses are of stone. They have none but well-water, and as they are obliged to fetch the wood from a considerable distance, it is very dear. The keeper of the prison's house where Sir *Henry* was confined, was contiguous to the wall, at the foot of which was a spacious yard, wherein a great number of people, for the most part women and children, were detained prisoners, or as hostages to keep their parents, husbands, and relations from rebellion. The women and children live in small cottages in the yard; the latter mostly run about naked, unless the weather is very cold, and then they have sheep skin coats. They are as rude and wild, as if they were brought up in the mountains; but the boys no sooner grow tall, than they are clapped in irons, and carried to a strong tower, where they continue during the *Bassa's* pleasure.

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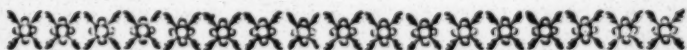
36 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

Sir Henry, Mr. Fémel, and Mr. Fowler set out from Zenan, mounted on horses, and the rest upon asses or camels, with two Chiauses to conduct them, one on horseback, and the other on foot. As they staid two days at Tayez, Sir Henry endeavoured, during that time, to recover Mr. Pemberton's youth; and Walter Talbot, one of the English, being permitted to see him in a chamber, where he was with other lads, he cried, and said he was no Mahometan in his heart, and that they had imposed upon him, by telling him that Sir Henry and all the rest were put to death at Zenan, and that if he would turn, they would save his life; but he refusing to comply, some of the Aga's servants carried him to a hot bath, and when they had him naked circumcised him by force. Sir Henry finding that his own application to recover this injured youth was of no effect, delivered the Kiahya's letter to the Aga, who when he had read it, told him the purport, which was, that in case he had not changed his religion, the Aga should deliver him up; and added, that the letter was a sufficient warrant for detaining him. Sir Henry suspected that the letter was to this effect when it was given him, which made him not deliver it till he had tried what he could do without it.

The Governor of Eufraz, who was a Turk, had used Sir Henry and his people very kindly at their going to Zenan, and now hearing that he was upon his return, sent a person to a place six miles from the town, where two roads met, in order to bring him thither, and there entertained

retained him as generously as he had done before.

They were 16 days on the road, which was full of people, and when they were within a mile of *Mocha*, were met by the carpenters, smiths, and the rest who had been detained there, whose irons had been taken off the day before, when they were allowed the liberty of walking abroad, and Sir *Henry* asking what was become of Mr. *Pemberton*, he had the pleasure of hearing that he had met with a canoe and got on board. All the way through the town to the Aga's house the people stood very thick, and as the *English* passed, welcomed them back; for the *Arabs* were much displeased at their being treated so treacherously by the *Turks*.



CHAP. V.

On their Arrival at Mocha they alight at the Aga's, where they are received with a Shew of Kindness. Mocha described. A Number of the English are sent on board. A Description of Assab Road. Sir Henry escapes on board, with most of his People.

SIR *Henry Middleton*, Mr. *Femel*, and Mr. *Fowler*, alighted at the Aga's house, and, being brought before him, the first delivered his letters from *Zenan*. *Rejib* received him with his usual dissimulation, welcomed

38 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON's VOYAGE

came him to *Mocha*, pretended to be glad of his safe return, and to be sorry and ashamed of what was passed, desiring Sir *Henry* to pardon him, and assuring him that henceforward he would be his friend; and reading the Bassa's orders, said, that every thing should be performed as he had directed. Then calling for breakfast, he bid Sir *Henry* eat and be merry, and afterwards told him, that now he had eaten bread and salt with him, he need not fear any harm. When breakfast was over, he went to look for a house for them, and pitched on an handsome large one near the sea side; but afterwards considering that it stood too near the water, and might favour their escape, they were two days after removed to a large strong house which stood alone in a spacious enclosure in the midst of the town, where a Captain and his company were set to guard them.

Mocha is a very populous city, but unwall'd, and seated by the sea-side, in a salt, sandy and barren soil. The Governor's house was by the water-side, and near it was the quay, which shoots pretty far into the sea. Upon this quay all the ships boats are obliged to land to prevent the running of goods, and close to it is a platform, upon which are planted about a dozen brass cannon. At the western end of the town is another, that has the like number of ordnance.

On the 6th of *March*, *Nakhada Malek Ambar*, the commander of a large ship of *Dabul*, landed with a great number of merchants, who were all carried about the town in pomp, and after-

afterwards feasted by the Aga. Sir *Henry* was also invited to this feast, and entertained in a very friendly manner. When the Aga in the presence of the whole company, called for the *Koran*, kissed it, and voluntarily swore that he had no malice or ill will to Sir *Henry*; but wished him all success, protesting that he would do any thing in his power to serve him, and was much grieved for what had passed, Sir *Henry* returned him thanks, and the next day the Aga making a great feast at his pleasure house for the *Dabul* merchants, Sir *Henry* and Mr. *Femel* were invited to it.

Two days after the Aga sent 36 of the *English* on board the *Darling*, keeping on shore Sir *Henry*, with all the merchants, carpenters, smiths and others, to the number of 30, and the next day the *Darling* sailed with them towards the other ships on the coast of *Habasheh*, where they found an excellent station called *Affab-road*, secure against all the winds that blow in those seas, and affording plenty of wood and water, but the latter is a little brackish. The people of the country are as black as the Negroes of *Guinea*, and go naked with only a cloth about their waists, which reaches to their knees. They were at first very fearful of the *English*; but after being acquainted with them, and peace being ratified by mutual oaths, they came daily to the ships with cows, sheep and goats, which they sold at reasonable rates, first for money, and afterwards for coarse callico, which Sir *Henry* had purchased on his first arrival at *Mocha*. These people

people were extremely honest and friendly in their dealings. The King of the country, who resides at a town on the coast, called *Rabayta*, about 40 miles to the southward near the *Bab*, sent some of his chief men to the commanders of the ships with presents, and a promise of any thing his country afforded; and in return they sent other presents, and entertained the messengers in a very friendly manner. The vulgar tongue of this country is not understood by the *Arabs*, but the better sort speak and write *Arabic*.

Some time after the *Darling* returning, Sir *Henry* sent a letter to Mr. *Pemberton*; and the Aga, attended by the principal persons of the town, riding early in the morning to his pleasure garden, Sir *Henry* resolved to put in practice, a long concerted scheme he had formed for making his escape, in a cask. The above letter was to acquaint Mr. *Pemberton* with that design, and to desire him immediately to send the boat well manned, with a bottle of aquavitæ, and another of wine, to make his keepers drunk, which was accordingly done. Before he acquainted Mr. *Femel* with his intentions, he made him swear to be secret, and to use no arguments to dissuade him from what he had resolved upon, and then letting him know what he had written to Mr. *Pemberton*, directed him to walk out with others to a particular place by the water-side, where he promised, in case he got safe to the boat, to come and take them in. Sir *Henry* had also appointed the carpenters and others, to repair to the southward of
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*St. Henry Middleton escapes
from the Turks.*

the town, where a boat lay near the shore, charging them not to embark till they saw the ship's boat put off from the quay.

Happily the Captain, who was left in town only to watch him, sat in to drinking at a house where arrack was sold, and Sir *Henry* having made the keepers drunk, and the Captain returning to his quarters at one end of the house, which was parted from the *English* only by a wall, Sir *Henry* began to put his project in execution. He ordered the carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two, to avoid suspicion; while Mr. *Femel*, and those who were to be taken in at the other part of the town, were to go two or three in a company along the shore. Having given these directions, he was inclosed in his tub, and safely conveyed into the boat, when forcing out the head of the cask, he got out of it, and bearing up to the leeward point, took in eleven persons; but Mr. *Femel*, and those with him, being too dilatory in setting out, were taken before they could reach the boat: For by this time the town was raised, partly by the indiscreet running of some of the *English*, and partly by seeing the boat, contrary to custom, bear up to leeward. Sir *Henry* came to an anchor, and waiting for them, brought the boat aground, which put them all in much danger: the boat was, however, soon got off; when Sir *Henry* finding the whole town in pursuit of him, and considering that he had a very narrow and shoal channel to pass, between a small sandy island and the main, found that it

Vol. IX. E would

would be folly to stay any longer, and therefore ordering the men to put forward, they happily fell into the right channel, which soon brought them into deep water out of danger of their enemies.

Mean while the people in the *Darling* kept a good watch on the tops, and as soon as they saw the boat under sail slipped their anchor, and bore up to relieve them in case of need. Sir Henry, and those who were with him, were no sooner on board, than the boat in which were the carpenters came in sight, and happily joined their companions in the *Darling*.



C H A P. VI.

The Treatment of those left on Shore, after Sir Henry's Escape from Mocha. A Truce granted for 15 Days. The rest of the English released, and the Pinnace restored: with their Proceedings during their Stay in the Road of Mocha. They sail for Kamaran to intercept the Suez Ship which slips by them in the Night.

SIR Henry's escape filled the town with confusion. The Captain who had been his keeper, was almost distracted, and knew not whether he should stay or fly for his life. The Lord of the sea was accused for consenting to his escape, and the merchants were in the greatest terror at the apprehension of losing their ships and goods, while the Aga himself, being at a loss what answer

therefore make to the Bassa, feared it would cost him his head.

About two hours after this happy escape, two poor *Arabs* appeared in a canoe: but were so fearful, that they durst not come nigh the ship, till being persuaded by fair words, one of them ventured on board, and gave Sir *Henry* a letter from Mr. *Femel*; by which he was informed, that those on shore had been in great danger of being either slain or stripped by those who apprehended them: But that some of the soldiers who wished them well, saved them, and conducted them to the Aga's, where they waited his coming home. The Aga on seeing them at his return, looked as pale as ashes, threatened them with death, and caused them also to be chained by the necks; but they were soon released, at the intreaty of the merchants and others, and permitted to remain in their former house; but under a stronger guard than before: A piece of indulgence which proceeded from the Aga's fear of the ships under Sir *Henry's* command; for the latter immediately sent the Aga word, that if he did not send him all his people, and what belonged to the ships, which he detained contrary to the Bassa's order, he would fire the ships in the road, and do his best to batter the town about his ears. He also sent word to the merchants, that he would not suffer any boats to go to their ships, without first coming on board his, to let him know their business; nor allow any thing to be carried out of them without his leave. At night Sir *Henry* sent the boat, well manned, to

44. Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

carry the news to the other ships, with orders to join him as soon as possible.

On the 12th, *Mohammed*, a merchant of *Kanavor*, came on board with letters, pretending that the Aga was sorry for his going away in that manner, since he had determined within a few days to set him and all his people at liberty. That he would deliver the furniture belonging to the ships, but could not send his men without an order from the Bassa: That he intreated only 15 days respite, and if in that time they were not all sent on board, he desired no favour. To this Sir *Henry* consented; but insisted also on having his pinnace, and observed, that he would not leave the road without her.

The Aga was extremely exasperated at this last demand; but thought fit to send the *Darling's* cables and anchors, with the pitch, tar, and other materials belonging to the ships on board; and few days passed, without Sir *Henry's* having a present either from the Aga, or some of the merchants.

Some days after, the *Trade's Increase* and *Peppercorn* entered the road; when Sir *Henry* going on board the former, was received with great joy. On the 25th, *Mohammed* came again on board, and informed Sir *Henry*, that the Bassa had given orders for the release of his men and pinnace, promising to bring them the next day; but he then returned without them, with the message, that the Aga would neither deliver the men nor the pinnace, till Sir *Henry* had given a writing signed by himself and four

or

or five more of the principal persons on board, importing, that he would maintain peace with the Aga's subjects and *Indians*, that he would not revenge what had passed, on these or any other of their ships, nor demand restitution, or satisfaction for the goods taken from him, which was to be confirmed by oath. Sir *Henry* let him know that he was surprised at his coming every day, with fresh demands; but that since he had not kept his word, in bringing him the pinnace, and all his men, he intended to detain him and those who were with him as hostages, till the performance of what he had promised; but *Mohammed* alledging, that if Sir *Henry* would give him such a writing as he demanded, and send him on shore, he would bring all his people on board before night. Sir *Henry* caused a memorandum to be drawn up in *English*, containing only a brief relation of the treacherous usage he had met with in that country, which was signed by him and five more, as witnesses of the truth, and then sent advice to Mr. *Femel*, how he should interpret it. Having delivered it to *Mohammed*, he refused to swear to it, saying, that his word should be truer than a *Turk's* oath at any time. *Mohammed* then went on shore, leaving some of the better sort of his company as hostages for his return, bidding him hang them, in case he did not bring all the *English* on board that night.

Mohammed, at his landing, exerted himself in such a manner, that a little before night he returned with Mr. *Femel* and nine others. *Femel*,

46 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

*mel, Williams, and Cunningham, were dressed in paltry vests, and another was sent to Sir Henry, as a present from the Bassa, and which Mohammed would have put on his back, desiring him to wear it as a favour from that commander; but Sir Henry refused it, with disdain, telling him, that he scorned to wear any thing that came from so unconscionable a dog, by whose order he had been so injured: upon which Mohammed left it with his servant, and departed, taking with him a Turk, who had been secured by the *Darling*, and till then remained on board the *Trade's Increase*.*

The next day he brought the pinnace, and asked, if all he had promised was performed? Sir Henry answered, No; for he still wanted a boy whom they detained at *Tayez*, and had forced to change his religion, who should be delivered to him before he would release the ships. On which Mohammed replied, that he would tell the Aga, and return with his answer. That morning Sir Henry called a council, in which it was concluded, that they should release all the ships that came from *India*, and belonged to their friends in the city, and indemnify themselves out of a ship that was to arrive from *Suez*. The next day a writing was sent to Sir Henry from the Aga, whereby he, Mohammed, and the Consul of the *Panians* bound themselves under the forfeiture of the ships and goods, to deliver the boy within twelve days, provided he would release the ships. Upon which he gave them leave to unlade the ships of *Diu*, which belonged to the Consul, and to visit the
other

other ships at their pleasure. That night Mr. *Femel* died of a calenture, or rather, as was the opinion of the surgeons, of poison given him by the *Turks*.

On the first of *June*, the wind was so hot, that it could be scarcely endured, and Sir *Henry* being unable to stay upon deck, was obliged to shelter himself in his cabbin. He then wrote a letter to the Bassa in *Italian*, demanding restitution of his goods, and satisfaction for damages; but though an answer was sent to this demand, the letter was not understood for want of an interpreter. Upon which he again laid an embargo on the ship of *Diu*, and would not suffer any more goods to be taken out of her, till the Bassa had satisfied him to the value of 70,000 rials of eight, which he considered as a better method of recovering his loss, than solely relying upon his taking the ship of *Suez*, which might easily be prevented by the *Turks* sending advice by land.

On the 2d of *June*, *Ali Hoskins*, Sir *Henry's* interpreter at *Zenan*, came on board with compliments from the Bassa, pretending that his Excellency was sorry that he went away in such a manner, for he intended to have dismissed him much to his satisfaction, and had prepared a rich vest, and a horse to be sent him. *Ali* also brought commendations from the *Kiahya*, who he said, intreated Sir *Henry* not to take any violent course there; but to seek for justice at *Constantinople*; for if he did any thing that displeased the Bassa, it would cost the *Kiahya* his head, who had been the chief instrument in persuad-

48 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

ing him to send the *English* back to *Mocha*. He added, that by the Bassa's order he had brought the *English* youth from *Tayez*, who should be sent on board the next day, on condition that the ship of *Diu* and the rest, were permitted to unload their goods. But Sir *Henry* now answered, that he would not release the ships till his goods were restored, nor till he had satisfaction to the value above-mentioned.

On the 3d, the Aga desired a truce for twelve days, in order to let the Bassa know Sir *Henry's* demands. The next day *Ali Haskins* and others came on board to intreat him to draw up the particulars of his losses, that they might consider of them on shore, which he did, and made his loss and hindrance amount in the whole to 70,000 rials of eight. He also sent to tell the Aga, that since after his having invited him on land, with a promise of kind entertainment and a free trade, he like a treacherous dog, had, without cause, cruelly slain several of his people, villainously imprisoned him and others, and robbed them of all he could seize, to the value of 70,000 pesoes, besides putting him to great expence and loss of time; if he did not presently make him restitution or satisfaction, he would batter the town about his ears; take all the goods of the *Diu* ship, and burn all the vessels then in the road; for he would not depart till he was sufficiently revenged; adding, that he could do all this without breach of promise, since the truce was expired, and they had not performed their agreement.

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On the 16th the Aga sent Sir *Henry* a peremptory answer, demanding who gave him leave to come into those seas, and adding, that since he came without leave, he was justly dealt with. That in relation to the goods, and the other matters of which he complained, he had only performed the Bassa's orders: That if he was not pleased with what was passed, the best way was to refer it to a hearing of their betters at *Constantinople*: That if he fired at the town, he would fire against his ships; and that as for the vessels and goods in the road, they were none of his: But that if he damaged either the town or ships, it would not be pleasing to the Sultan, who would infallibly demand satisfaction for any damage they should do them. To this Sir *Henry* answered, That he needed no other leave to come into that sea, than that of God and his King; and as to his landing there, the Aga had not only given him leave, but much intreated him: With regard to his goods, he knew of nothing he owed the Bassa, nor had he ever done him the least wrong, that might give him a pretence for seizing his goods by way of reparation; he therefore was resolved to be paid for them, and righted there where he had been wronged, and not at *Constantinople*. Yet he was convinced, that neither the Bassa nor the Aga durst shew their faces in that city, to answer the shameful injustice, they falsely pretended the Sultan had commanded them to commit; and that therefore if they found themselves aggrieved, they might go to seek redress at the court of *England*.

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On the 19th, the Consul and many others of the chief of the *Banians*, came on board to agree with Sir *Henry*, bringing with them Mr. *Pemberton's* youth, who was decently cloathed by the Consul, after the Christian fashion. Some kind salutations having passed on both sides, the Consul began with telling Sir *Henry*, that he had always loved and favoured the *English*, and was ready to do him all the service in his power, and that he was as much grieved at the injuries he had suffered from the *Turks*, as if they had been done to his own people : but he was like to pay very dear for his love and compassion, unless he would shew some pity to him, for the *Bassa* had enjoined him to make Sir *Henry* satisfaction, and had sent orders, that in case he did not, his throat should be cut, and his goods confiscated. And this he protested was not feigned, but strictly truth. Sir *Henry* answered, that they were the *Turks* who had robbed him, and done him so many injuries, and from them alone he would seek satisfaction. The *Sabandar* desired him to wave these matters. They spent most of the day in fixing the prices of the commodities that were lost, and at length with much difficulty, came to an agreement, that all the lead and iron should be restored, and 18,000 rials of eight paid in money within fifteen days, as a full satisfaction for all the losses they had sustained. Upon which a peace was concluded between the *English* and them for two years, from the port of *Mocha* to *Kananor*, on condition

dition that the Bassa should confirm it by a writing under his own hand and seal

At this time a sickness prevailed in the ships, few or none escaping. It began with a violent pain in the head and stomach, which deprived the men of sleep, the best remedy for which was vomiting and bleeding; but though few died of it, some whose disorder was attended with a fever were long before they recovered.

On the 2d of July, Sir Henry received the last payment from the Consul, and cleared all reckonings with him, as well for money borrowed while he was prisoner, as for money disbursed afterwards, when this honest *Banian* demanded the 1500 venetianos promised the Bassa's *Kiahya*; but Sir Henry would not pay it, though he urged his promise, and said that he should be otherwise forced to pay it himself, for having passed his word for it. But Sir Henry answered, that the *Kiahya* had not performed his promise of setting him and his people at liberty. Sir Henry here certainly shewed, that he was void of all generosity, honour and honesty. However, towards night, the Consul and the rest having taken their final leave, Sir Henry caused three guns to be discharged at their departure.

On the 3d, *Ali*, and another merchant, came again and bought some vermillion, for which Sir Henry gave them credit. They promised to come to him on the other side of the sea, within fourteen days, to pay the money, and to bring some grain, which Sir Henry had given

52 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

given them an order to buy at *Mocha*, and also a ratification of the peace signed by the Bassa.

In the afternoon the ships warped out of the road, and that night sailed for *Affab*, but could not get thither till the 5th in the morning. On the 6th, Sir *Henry* landing caused all the wells to be emptied and cleaned: for he had been often told that the *Turks* had prevailed on the people of *Affab* to poison the wells.

They were employed till the 13th in watering and buying provisions, and on the last-mentioned day, the King of the country hearing of Sir *Henry's* escape from *Mocha*, and arrival in his country, sent three of his chief servants, attended by 30 soldiers, with a letter, and a present of refreshments. This letter was to congratulate Sir *Henry* on his having escaped from his enemies, to welcome him into his dominions, and to make him an offer of supplying him with whatever the country afforded. These messengers were feasted and rewarded, and then sent back with a present for the King, which consisted of a vest of broad cloth, and an handsome looking-glass.

On the 17th, there came a *Telba* from *Mocha*, in which were several persons, who brought the provisions Sir *Henry* had bespoke, and the money due to him for the vermillion, but no writing from the Bassa, who pretended to be so busy in the wars, that he had not time to write, whence it was supposed that he intended to keep no measures with the *English*.

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On the 24th the fleet sailed out of *Affab* road, to put in practice what Sir *Henry* had long before determined, which was to ply to windward, as high as the island of *Kamaran*, and to wait there for a large ship richly laden, that sails every year about this time from *Suez* to *Mocha*, by which means he proposed to be sufficiently revenged on the *Turks* for all his losses and disgraces, and he was the more desirous of meeting with her, from his understanding that *Jaffar Bassa* and *Rejib Aga* had considerable ventures in her. They plied to the windward till the last day of the month, sailing by day and generally lying at anchor all night. In this cruize they ran many dangers for want of a pilot, and often narrowly escaped running aground; yet, notwithstanding all their fatigues and hazards, the ship, as they found on their return, had escaped them in the night.



C H A P. VII.

They arrive at Socotra, and proceed from thence to Surat, where they meet with many Obstructions both from the Portuguese Vessels, from Mokrib Khan, and the Indian Merchants; with their Proceedings in the Road of Swally, near Surat.

ON the 9th of *August* in the morning they set sail, and having passed the streights on the 13th, plied into the road of *Delisba* in the island of *Socotra*, where coming to anchor, they found

54. Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

riding there a great ship belonging to *Diu*, and two small vessels of *India* bound for the *Red Sea*, and taken short by the monsoons. The Capt. of the *Diu* ship, and several others coming on board the *Trade's Increase*, informed Sir Henry, that the *English* at *Surat* were very well used, and daily expected the arrival of ships from *England*: That Captain *Hawkins* was at the King's court, where he was made a great Lord, and had a yearly revenue allowed him, and that the King had given Captain *Sharpey* money to build a ship, which was almost ready to be launched at *Surat*. This news Sir Henry thought too good to be true.

The monsoon being far spent, Sir Henry desired the merchant of *Diu* to help him with his boats and people to take in ballast and water, which he, with the others most readily granted, generously profering him all the water in their ships. This offer Sir Henry accepted, he took all theirs, and employed his people in fetching some from shore.

Sir Henry being afterwards introduced to the King, purchased all his aloes, and having delivered letters to his Majesty, which he promised to deliver to the first *English* ship, weighed on the 3d of *September*, and on the 26th anchored in the road of *Surat*, by the *Indian* ships. About a mile from them rode seven sail of *Portuguese* frigates, or men of war, and 13 more were within the river of *Surat*.

Long before Sir Henry's arrival, the *Portuguese* had intelligence of his being in the *Red Sea*, and bound for this place, and these frigates

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had been sent to hinder him from trading at *Surat*, or any where else upon that coast. The Commander in chief of this fleet was Don *Francisco de Soto*, Major, stiled Captain Major of the North. This person reaped great benefit, by granting passports to all the ships and frigates that traded in those parts, and by confiscating such as traded without them. That night Sir *Henry* discharged the pilots he had at *Surat*, and sent them with letters to such of the *English* as they should find there.

On the 29th, there came a small frigate from the Admiral of the Armada, as they termed him, in which was one *Portuguese* and his boy, who brought an answer from the Captain Major, to a letter Sir *Henry* had sent him the day before; the purport of which, after some compliments was, that he was glad he belonged to a King who was a friend, and that he and his would be ready to serve him to the best of their power, provided he brought a letter or order, either from the King of *Spain* or the Viceroy, for trading in those parts: That otherwise he was obliged to guard the port he had in charge, where the King his master kept a factory. Sir *Henry* returned answer by word of mouth, That he had neither a letter from the King of *Spain* nor the Viceroy, nor had any need of it, since he was sent by the King of *England* with letters and rich presents to the Great Mogul, in order to establish a trade begun in those parts. That he came not to disturb the *Portuguese* factory there, and saw no reason why the *Portuguese* should attempt to

56 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

obstruct the trade of the *English*, since *India* was a country free to all nations, and neither the Great Mogul, nor his people, under vassalage to them. He bid the messenger therefore tell his Captain, that he desired the *English* at *Surat* might be suffered in a friendly manner to come on board his ship, and confer with him about their affairs, and that he would not urge him to use force, for by one means or other he would see them. He then bestowed a vest of broad cloth upon the messenger, who promised to return the next day.

Sir Henry finding it impossible to cross the bar without a pilot, anchored in the road, where he received letters from *Nicholas Bangham* at *Surat*, who was formerly a joiner in the *Hector*, by which he was informed, that the *English* had no factory there, and that he was sent thither from *Agra* by Captain *Hawkins*, to recover some debts; but though he had letters from the Captain, he durst not send them on board, lest they should be intercepted by the *Portuguese*. In answer to which, Sir Henry wrote to desire him to send those letters, with further particulars relating to the trade.

On the 3d of October, *Khojah Nassan*, Governor of *Surat*, and brother to the Governor of *Cambaya*, sent an *Indian* to Sir Henry with a present of refreshments, offering to do him all the kindness in his power, adding, that for their part they desired to trade with the *English*, but could see no possibility of doing it while the *Portuguese* Armada rode so nigh their fleet: That this nation hindered them from acting
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according to their inclinations, and therefore they advised him to go for *Gago*, which was a better place, and nearer *Cambaya*, where there were more merchants, better goods, and greater quantities of them than at *Surat*, and that the Armada could not hinder his landing there.

Sir *Henry* afterwards received another letter from *Nicholas Bangham*, and Captain *Hawkins's* letter from *Agra*, relating the manner of his being taken into favour, and his being disgraced by the Great Mogul; expatiating on that Monarch's sickleness in granting them trade, and afterwards denying it in favour of the *Portuguese*. He also received two letters from *William Finch*, which gave an account of his proceedings, and returning home over land, the inconstancy of the King and people of the country, and the practices of the *Portuguese*, advising the Commanders of such *English* ships as arrived at *Surat*, not to land any goods, nor to hope for trade in those parts.

Though Sir *Henry* on his perusing these letters despaired of carrying on any trade in that place, he resolved to try to the uttermost what could be done before he left it. Being informed by the above letter that Captain *Sharpey*, *John Jordain*, and others, were coming from *Cambaya* to *Surat*, in order to go along with him, he resolved at least to get them on board. As the *Indian* ships which rode by him had given over their voyage to the southward, because the proper monsoon was past, the Bramin, or Priest of the *Banians*, asked leave to carry their ships into the river; but Sir *Henry* desired

58 . Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

him to tell the Governor and the rest of the owners, that their ships should not leave their present station, till he had the *Englishmen* at *Cambaya* and *Surat* on board ; because had he suffered them to sail away, he would have been unable either to send or hear from the *English* on shore ; the *Portuguese* endeavouring as much as they were able to intercept both the letters and men.

On the 22d of *October*, the *Portuguese* laid an ambuscade to cut off a party of the *English* sent on shore ; and suddenly rushing out, ran towards them in crowds without any order, to the number of 300 men, discharging their fire-arms at the *English*, who immediately put themselves in a posture of defence, returned the fire, and afterwards retired on board a frigate that waited for them, without loss, while the enemy, several of whom were wounded, retreated behind the hills out of danger, and thence to their ships.

Sir *Henry* had been on shore in the frigate, to wait the coming of Captain *Sharpey* ; but finding that he did not come, returned on board the *Peppercorn*, and determined to remove with the ebb near the *Trade's Increase*. But as they were setting sail, a company of men were descried coming from the northward. Upon which they again cast anchor, and Sir *Henry* going on shore, there soon arrived three *Englishmen*, and a day or two after Captain *Sharpey*, guarded by one hundred horsemen, armed with bows and swords, with one *Jaddow* a broker, a *Bramin*,

a Bramin, or *Banian* Priest, and another *Indian*, who was the Captain's servant.

On the 25th, Sir *Henry Midd'eton*, accompanied by the Captains *Sharpey* and *Jordain*, one of the *English* who had before arrived, went on shore, where *Kbojab Nassan* was come to meet them. Sir *Henry* was carried in a palankin borne on four mens shoulders, and was kindly entertained by *Kbojab Nassan*, when a carpet being spread, they sat upon it, and applied to business. At length it was in a manner concluded, that the ships should repair to *Gago*, a place on the western side of the gulph nearer to *Cambaya*, and that they should have pilots from shore to carry them thither : but a sudden shower of rain, which is there unusual at this time of the year, made them break up their conference ; however, they promised to meet again the next day, in order to come to a final resolution.

On the 26th, *Kbojab Nassan* sent Sir *Henry* a present of provisions, and two pilots for his safe conduct to *Gago*, and Sir *Henry* going on shore with the pinnace, the conference was renewed ; but the pilots giving it as their opinion, that the place proposed was not convenient, it was agreed, that the *English* should put to sea for six days, in which time it was presumed that the *Portuguese*, supposing they had left that coast, would also leave it ; on which they were to return and dispatch their business. Accordingly the same evening they sailed to the southward, to the *Trade's Increase* ; but the wind shortening upon them, they anchored a mile westward

60 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

westward of the road. The next morning Sir Henry sent a letter to Don *Francisco de Soto*; Captain Major of the Armada, and the next day left the coast; but finding that a *Portuguese* frigate kept following them for several days, he resolved to stand no farther off.

Accordingly on the first of *November* they returned to the northward, and on the 6th, came to an anchor in the new discovered road, where Sir Henry and Captain *Downton* going on shore with a guard of 40 men, found some brackish water, with which they were obliged to be satisfied till better could be had. Here they bought a few goats and sheep of the inhabitants, and the next day having filled some water, and bought a small quantity of provisions, they hauled the *Increase* aground. While this was doing, they erected a tent for Captain *Downton*; and guards were placed to secure them from any designs of the *Portuguese*.

On the ninth in the morning *Khojab Nassan* came from *Surat*, and soon after a market was kept on shore for bullocks, sheep, goats, fowls, milk, butter, cheese, meal and bread; sugar-canes, sugar and sugar-candy, limes, palms, water-melons, cucumbers, onions, go-rds, radishes, pallingenes, gindus, a fruit of the size of a small crab, with a little round stone in the middle, dried salt fish, and palm wine; all which were sold at reasonable prices.

On the 21st a sentinel who had been placed on the mount, saw over the top of a neighbouring hill the heads of some of the *Portuguese* who lay in ambush, to the number of 500, and

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and had no sooner given the alarm than the enemy, finding themselves discovered, ran swiftly down with their colours, to cut off the retreat of the *English* to their boat; but having tasted a little of their great, as well as their small shot, and seeing some of their company fall in the mud, they ran back with as much haste as they had advanced, after having eight killed and wounded. Several of those who fell made a shift to crawl away, only *Antonio de Sousa*, a gentleman, having received a mortal wound in the head, the *English*, more compassionate than his countrymen, went and carried him on board; but he died two hours after, and was buried on shore.

On the 24th in the afternoon. *Mikrib Khan* came down with one hundred horse, and a still greater number of foot. with five elephants, and several camels. He had also carts and oxen for carrying his provisions, and several leopards in carts for his diversion in hunting. The shore soon resembled a town of tents. He was met by *Sir Henry*, at whose landing was discharged a volley of 160 small shot, and at the instant of saluting each other, the ships fired their great guns in order. The *Darling* three; the *Peppercorn* five, and the *Trade's Increase* nine. After this, *Sir Henry* delivered him the King's letter and present, which he received with great appearance of friendship, and at his invitation, boldly went on board the *Trade's Increase*, accompanied by 16 *Indians* and *Moors*, leaving *Khojab Nassan*, *Khojab Cirsan Ali*, and other merchants on shore. *Sir Henry* was much pleased

62 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

pleased at seeing him put such confidence in him, and began to conceive better hopes than before, all this part of the country being under his command; he therefore made the best entertainment for him that was possible, upon so short a warning, and both he, and those who were with him, eat very heartily. He promised to do the *English* all the service in his power, and to allow them any place or harbour Sir Henry should name, where, if they pleased, they might erect a fort. He continued on board all night, and part of the next day; but shewed no inclination to enter upon business, his whole thoughts seeming to be taken up with looking out such toys as were likely to please the Great Mogul his master.

On the 25th in the morning, after he had busied himself in purchasing knives, glass and other trifles, Sir Henry shewed him all the parts of the ship, and returning to the cabbin, he would needs see all Sir Henry's chests and trunks opened, which he did, the latter giving him whatever he took a fancy to. After which he dined on board, and then went to visit the other ships, where he behaved in the same manner.

On the 30th, and 31st, several of the merchants on board went to view some packs of *Indian* cloth, which *Khojab Nassan* had brought down to barter with them, and returned with samples, and the prices of each. Sir Henry set down what he would give for those he liked, and desired they would do the same by his commodities; but imagining that the *English* would

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would be forced to sell their goods for what they could get, they set a very high value on their own, offered but little for those in the ships, and soon after sending for their samples of cloth, carried all the packs they had brought, back to *Surat*. On the eighth of *December*, *Mokrib Khan* came down again, with about 40 packs of goods, and *Sir Henry* landing with a strong guard, armed with muskets and halberts, went to him in his tent. where, after friendly salutations and compliments, they agreed upon a price to be given for all the lead, quicksilver and vermilion, and for the goods to be taken by the *English* in exchange; but though these goods belonged to several merchants, the business was solely managed by *Khojah Nassan*, no man daring either to buy or sell without his leave, by which means he raised the prices of their goods, and lowered those of the *English*.

On the 9th, in the morning, the *English* began to land their lead, and receive some of the goods, when a letter from the Great Mogul to *Mokrib Khan*, put a stop to their proceedings. He had been extremely merry; but the moment he perused it, became dejected, and after sitting for some time in a musing posture, suddenly rose up, and went away without once looking at or speaking to *Sir Henry*, who was seated near him; but sending for him before he mounted his horse he embraced him, called him his brother, and desired that he would excuse his sudden departure, adding, that he would leave *Khojah Nassan* to receive and deliver the goods already bargained for, and to agree
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64. Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

for more. Soon after it appeared, that he was turned out of his government of *Cambayo*, and that *Khojab Nassan* had lost that of *Surat* a little before.

On the 10th. the new Governor of *Surat* and *Hassan Ali* went to see the ships. The factors being on shore to see the lead weighed, were desirous of making use of *English* weights, but *Khojab Nassan* insisted on using those of *Surat*; but after some drafts. the *English* desired to examine the beam before they proceeded any farther, and weighing by their own scales what had been weighed by those of *Surat*, they found in five pigs, a difference of ten or eleven maunds, each maund being 33 pounds *English*; when *Khojab Nassan* finding he could not have the lead at what weight he pleased, began to cavil, and at length after behaving in a very abusive manner, caused all his merchandize to be taken away, declaring, he would have none of their lead or other goods. Sir *Henry* being on board the *Trade's Increase* with the Governor and *Shah Bandar*, the factors sent to let him know, that unless some speedy course was taken, *Khojab Nassan* would go from his bargain, and return all their goods upon his hands. Upon which Sir *Henry* laid the affair before the Governor, and *Shah Bandar*; and that he was under a necessity of detaining them, till the other did him justice. Upon which the Governor advised Sir *Henry* to go on shore, and fetch the man himself, which he accordingly did, and having made the Governor a handsome present, let him depart, keeping *Khojab Nassan* and the

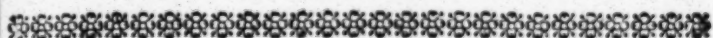
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Shah Bandar for pledges on board the *Peppercorn*. But they were afterwards exchanged for other hostages, and on the 24th, their business was completed, and the hostages released.



C H A P. VIII.

They sail from Surat, and proceed to Dabul: Take a Portuguese Ship, from which they indemnify themselves for the ill Offices done them by the Portuguese at Surat. They pass by Socotra, intercept the Indian Ships sailing to Mocha, and at length make every Vessel at Mocha pay a certain Sum of Money for Liberty to trade. The Peppercorn returns to England; but the Trade's Increase is lost, and Sir Henry dies.

THE *English*, after having sustained many abuses from the Governors of *Surat* and their instruments, by delays, and by withholding the natives from trading with them, were at last prevented from demanding the debts that were owing to them, by being ordered to quit the town, and the ships to leave the road. Thus were their hopes disappointed of settling a factory at *Surat*; which was wholly owing to the artifices of the *Portuguese*; for while the principal persons there were debating whether they should permit the *English* to leave a factory, *Mockrib Khan* received a letter from *Dangie*, a *Banian* at *Cambaya*, which let him

VOL. IX. G know,

66 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

know, that if he suffered the *English* to continue at *Surat*, the *Portuguese* would come and burn all the towns upon the coast, and seize all the ships they could meet. This immediately turned the scales against the *English*, and it was concluded that it would be the most prudent course to have nothing farther to do with them.

On the 9th of *February* in the morning, they warped over the bar with the *Trade's Increase*, and on the 16th, anchored in the road of *Dabal*. The next day Sir *Henry* sent a pilot on shore, with a letter to the Governor from *Maleck Amber*, Captain of a great ship at *Mocha*, to entreat him to use the *English* kindly, and in the afternoon received a small present of refreshments, with many compliments, offering him any thing the country afforded, and promised to deal with him, if he pleased to send on shore. Upon this Sir *Henry* sent a couple of merchants, with a present to the Governor, who gave them a kind reception, and several days were spent in disposing of their goods. This trade was carried on till the 23d, when Sir *Henry* determined to depart without delay.

On the 24th Sir *Henry* called a council, in which it was resolved to return to the *Red Sea*, in order to put off the *English* goods, and get others in their room, and to take some revenge for the injuries done them by the *Turks* at *Mocha*, and lastly to save the *English* ships, which they heard was bound that way, judging that otherwise he could not possibly escape being betrayed.

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From this day till the 27th, was spent in taking in fresh water. The *Indians* had bought all the red lead, but though it was actually delivered on shore, yet afterwards disliking it, they returned it back. In the evening the *English* saw a ship in the offing, and two or three *Malabars* which rode near them, observing that she was a *Portuguese* vessel of *Cochin* bound for *Chaul*, Sir Henry sent the *Peppercorn*, *Darling*, and the frigate to fetch her in; but those in the frigate pillaging the mariners, he took their plunder from them, and returned it to the owners. She was chiefly laden with cocoa-nuts, and Sir Henry took some small matters out of her, on account of the injuries offered him by Don *Francisco de Soto*, Major at the bay of *Surat*.

On the 6th of *March* they left *Dabul*, and on the 20th, Sir Henry sent Mr. *Pemberton* in the *Darling* before him to *Socotra*, to inquire after the *English* ship bound for the *Red Sea*; but soon sailed after him, and arriving at that island bought some sheep, small goats, olibanum, and gum-arabic; and after staying some time for the *Darling*, stood towards *Aden*.

On the first of *April*, a council being called, it was concluded that the *Peppercorn* should ply before the port of *Aden*, to keep all *Indian* ships from entering or staying there, while Sir Henry was to cruize with the *Trade's Increase* in the *Red Sea*. But the next morning before they had separated, they found the *Darling* at anchor, who had got before them, while they were waiting for her, and Mr. *Pemberton* coming

68 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE

ing on board, told Sir *Henry*, that the King of *Socotra* had shewed him a writing left there by Captain *John Saris*, who had three ships under his command, and that it contained an account of the time he left *England*; the places of refreshment by the way; his arrival there, and his resolution to proceed to the *Red Sea*: He had perused a writing left by Sir *Henry*, with reasons to dissuade him from going thither; but having the Grand Signior's pass, he hoped to meet with better entertainment than Sir *Henry* had done.

At hearing this unexpected news, a council was called, in which it was resolved to proceed according to their former resolution; and indeed they had no other way left. For they could not get back till the westerly wind came in, which would not be till the middle of *May*. Sir *Henry* therefore sent Captain *Nicholas Dounton* to cruize about in order to observe the port of *Aden*, where he himself with the *Trade's Increase* and *Darling*, went to watch the two-fold entrance of *Babalmandel*.

On the 14th, Captain *Saris* came into the road, and anchored with his three ships by Sir *Henry*. They spent that day together in the *Trade's Increase*, and at parting Captain *Saris* invited Sir *Henry* and others to dine with him the next day; at which time the Captain shewed Sir *Henry* the Grand Signior's pass.

About this time *Mammi*, Captain of the galleys, came with some other persons from the Governor of *Mocha*, to capitulate with Sir *Henry*, and know his demands, as a satisfaction for

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for past injuries. And Sir Henry insisting on 100,000 rials of eight, they desired time to send to *Zenqn*, to know the pleasure of *Jassa* Bassa, and then took leave.

On the 30th, a general consultation was held on board the *Trade's Increase*, and at noon there came over from *Mocha* the Shah Bandar, *Mammi* Captain of the galleys, and an Aga, all appointed by the Bassa, to confer with Sir Henry about an agreement; but finding that he would make no abatement of the sum he had demanded, they desired leave to talk with the Captains of the *Indian* ships and other principal merchants, to try if they would suffer any farther duties to be laid on the *Indian* goods, towards raising the money: But several of these Captains opposing these duties, the commissioners promised Sir Henry, that as soon as they had the Bassa's answer, they would let him know what was to be done. All this time the *English* were employed in opening, packing, and repacking of *Indian* cloths fit for their purpose, giving their own goods in exchange.

On the 11th, Sir Henry with the *Trade's Increase*, and Captain *Saris*, with the *Clove* and *Hector*, sailed towards *Mocha*, with all the *Indian* ships, leaving the *Peppercorn* behind, with a small ship called the *Jungo*, to which Captain *Dounton* restored all the goods he had taken out of her, and on the 12th, they both followed the Admiral.

On the 19th, Sir Henry perceiving that the *Turks* intended nothing but delays, and that they were busy in unlading a ship of *Kats-*
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nagone, he went on board the *Peppercorn*, and ordered Captain *Deunton* to warp near him, which he did, discharging several guns at the *Turks*, till they gave over their work.

On the 26th, Sir *Henry* and Captain *Saris* appointed a meeting on board the *Mahmudi* of *Dabul*, where all the Captains of the *Indian* ships being sent for, Sir *Henry* repeated his complaints against the *Turks*, and told them, that notwithstanding he had made himself amends for the injuries he had sustained in *India*, yet till he had also received full satisfaction from the *Turks*, he would not permit them to trade thither, and was resolved to carry all the *Indian* ships out of this sea with him, in order that the *Turks* might receive no benefits from them this year. The *Indian* merchants being unwilling to make an unprofitable monsoon, by carrying back their commodities, desired to come to a composition, and proposed that every ship should pay a certain sum to the *English* for liberty to trade. When Sir *Henry* considering that he had not the power to force satisfaction from the *Turks*, without farther prejudicing the *Indians*, determined to accept of their offer, and the sums being agreed upon with all the *Indian* ships, and in part received, on the 6th of *August* Captain *Saris* sent away Captain *Towerson* in the *Hector*, and on the 13th, having received all his share of the composition money, he left the *Red Sea*.

On the 16th of *August* the *Peppercorn* and *Trade's Increase* set sail, and repassed the streights of *Babalmandel*.

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On their approaching the coast of *India*, they observed many snakes swimming on the surface of the water; on the 19th of *October* they anchored in the road of *Tekoa*, where they found the *Darling* had been ever since *July* in great part of the rains, which were not yet ended. In this time she had buried three merchants, and three sailors, and most of their men were sick. She had got but little pepper, nor was there much more to be had till the next season. Sir *Henry* therefore finding little encouragement at that place, on account of the civil wars, which were a great hindrance to trade, set sail on the 23d in the *Peppercorn* for *Bantam*, leaving Captain *Dounton* in the *Trade's Increase*, to remain till the 16th of the following month; but he did not sail till the 20th, when he took the remainder of the pepper he had bought on board. On examining it he had a convincing proof of the dishonesty of the natives; for in some sacks there were small bags of poddy, in some rice, and in others great stones; besides rotten and wet pepper were put into new sacks. But the *Trade's Increase* springing a leak, Captain *Dounton* was obliged some days after to return to *Tekoa*, where he staid till the eighth of *December*, when he again set sail, and arrived at *Pulo Panian* on the 20th, where Sir *Henry* called a council, in which it was agreed, that the *Trade's Increase* ought to be careened before she could return home, and as this would take up time, it was concluded to dispatch the *Peppercorn* immediately for *England*.

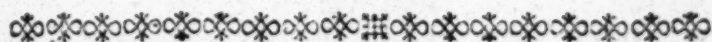
72 Sir HENRY MIDDLETON'S VOYAGE, &c.

She according set sail on the 4th of *February*, and on the 10th of *May* arrived in the road of *Saldanna*, where Captain *Downton* having taken in a supply of water, he again set sail, and without touching at any other place for refreshment, reached *Waterford* in *Ireland*; but he had there the misfortune, after a long and troublesome voyage, to be taken up for piracy, and confined in the fort of *Dungannon*, where he lay near three weeks; but being at length discharged, he steered for *England*, and on the 20th of *October* came up the *Thames* to *Blackwall*.

But to return to Sir *Henry*. He steered to *Machian*, where endeavours were used to sheath the *Trade's Increase*; but a dreadful mortality breaking out among the men, above an hundred of them died, and only thirty-three were left of the whole crew, the greatest part of whom were sick; thus the vessel was left on ground without a mast, and sheathed only on one side. These misfortunes gave Sir *Henry* such concern, that it is said he died of grief, on the 24th of *May*, 1613.



THE
V O Y A G E
O F
Mr. G R O S E
TO THE
E A S T I N D I E S.



C H A P. I.

Our Author sets sail in the Anson East-Indiaman, and arrives at Johanna, one of the Comro islands, of which he gives a very particular Description.

OUR Author having entered into the service of the *East India* company in the character of a writer, embarked on board the *Lord Anson*, one of the company's ships, in *March 1750*, and the same month sailed out of the *Downs*. He had a very prosperous voyage to *Johanna*, one of the *Comro* islands, which are situated
near

near the coast of *Africa*, not far from the island of *Madagascar*.

On approaching this beautiful island, after being several months at sea, it is impossible to avoid being delighted with its appearance. High hills covered with trees slope down to the sea, forming a beautiful valley, and the whole scene at a distance from the shore affords a landskip, that has a romantic wildness, which exceeds all the works of art.

The ship came to an anchor on the 28th of *July*, and was immediately surrounded with canoes, bringing refreshments from the shore, each striving to get first to their market, the ship. Most of these canoes were ballanced on each side with out-leagers, formed of two poles each, with one across, to prevent their over-setting. The large vessels called panguays, are raised some feet on the sides with branches of trees and reeds, bound together with small cords, and made water proof by being plaistered over with a resinous substance. Few have more than one mast, which carries a sail or two, made either of sheer-grass, or cocoa-nut leaves matted together.

The *Comro* islands take their name from *Comro*, the largest of them; these are five in number, the other four being *Mayotta*, *Mobilla*, *Angazeja*, and *Johanna*, which last lies in the latitude of 12. 15. south; they are all opposite the *African* shore, between which and *Madagascar* is formed what is called the *Mozambique* channel, from *Mozambique*, a small island belonging to the *Portuguese*, in which they have

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a considerable settlement. *Comro*, the largest of them all, is unfrequented by any of the *Europeans*, it having no safe harbour, and the people being averse to any commerce with strangers: three of the other islands are also little resorted to, on account of the superior advantages of *Johanna*.

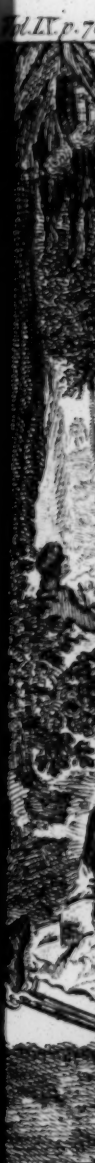
On a ship's coming to an anchor in the road, it is usual to pitch a tent on the shore, for the reception of the sick, who, though in the last stage of that dreadful disease the scurvy, commonly recover in a surprising manner, from the reviving influence of the earth, the goodness of the water, and the variety of refreshments with which this fine island abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruit and vegetables, all admirable in their kind.

The town of *Johanna* is about a mile from the place where the tents are usually pitched, and is composed of about 200 houses and huts together. Some are of stone, and belong to the King of *Johanna*, and the principal persons in the island: but no buildings Mr. *Grose* saw exceeded one story high. Strangers are suffered freely to enter the first apartment, and all the rest are reserved for the families of the owners. The King's palace is built of stone and mud, and the rooms are only hung with coarse chintz, with here and there a small looking-glass, and yet he is the sovereign of the whole island, which is about 30 leagues in circumference, and contains 73 villages, and near 30,000 inhabitants. The houses of persons of the common rank, have some resemblance

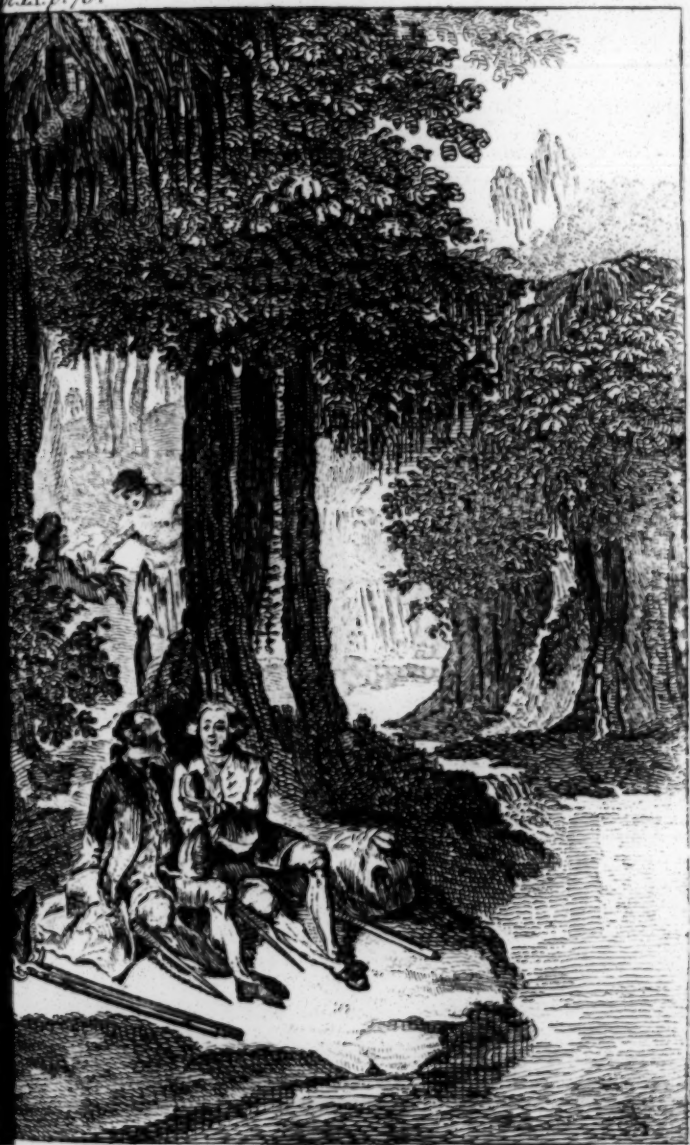
blance to barns : they are built of a kind of reeds tied together, and plaistered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung. Their roofs are covered with the leaves of the cocoa-tree.

Every ship that arrives is obliged to obtain the King's licence for trading with the natives, more particularly for oxen and goats, as well as for wooding, watering and landing the men ; but this may be obtained for a present of a few muskets, a little gunpowder, some yards of scarlet cloth, or other *European* commodities.

Mr. *Grose*, on the second day after his arrival, took a walk with an *English* gentleman, who was passenger in another ship, accompanied by two of the natives, who understood a little *English*. As they arose early, they had advanced above five miles into the country, before the sun began to be troublesome. They had fowling pieces with them, and had reason to believe they should have had excellent sport, could they have reached the places on the mountains where they saw the game lay ; but being unable to conquer the ascent, they were obliged to be satisfied with what small birds they could shoot in the vallies and hills that were easily passable. They breakfasted on pine apples, and quenched their thirst with the milk of cocoa-nuts. Coming about noon to a beautiful piece of water, they seated themselves on its banks in the shade, in order to dine ; and to enjoy the agreeable murmurs of some little springs and natural cascades that fell from the rocks. The numerous orange and lime trees that surrounded them,



Mr. Grose
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*Mr. Grose & another English Gentleman -
in the Island of Tahanna.*

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them, and bent under the weight of their fruits, diffused a most fragrant odour. There were also pine-apples 12 or 13 inches in circumference, of a much richer flavour than those of *India*; with plumbs and other fruit. All these trees growing promiscuously, and without the least order, combined, with the falls of water, the stupendous height of the surrounding mountains covered with trees, with their various breaks and projections, compose what may be justly termed a terrestrial paradise. With regret they quitted this delightful spot, in which there was no fear of wild beasts, or of venemous creatures, mixed with their pleasure, there being none in the island; and they returned to their tent sufficiently repaid for the fatigue they had felt in this agreeable excursion.

The woods abound with monkies of different kinds and sizes, large squirrels, and other animals, among which, is one of the bigness of a common monkey, with a head resembling that of a fox, and a lively piercing eye. It is covered with a kind of wool of a mouse-colour, and its tail, which is about three feet long, is variegated with circles of black. This animal the natives term a mocawk, and when taken young it soon grows tame. The country abounds with numerous herds of oxen; these have a large fleshy excrescence between the neck and breast, which is generally preferred either to the tongue or udder, it tasting like firm marrow; and the fowls here are extremely good and fat. The sea abounds with

great plenty of different kinds of fish, which the natives are very expert at catching; among these, the parrot fish is very remarkable, for being beautified with the most lively colours imaginable: it is about three feet and an half in length, and is esteemed delicious food.

To return to the natives: these are generally tall and well-proportioned; they have piercing eyes, thickish lips, long black hair, and their complexions are between the olive and the black. Those of distinction are known by their suffering the nails of their fingers and toes to grow to an immoderate length; these are tinged of a yellowish red with the alhenna, a shrub that grows in the marshy places of the island. The common people have no other cloathing, but a coarse wrapper round their loins, and a skull-cap of any sort of stuff. Those of a superior rank have long drawers, a wide sleeved kind of a shirt that hangs over them, and a waistcoat; but few wear turbans, except those of great quality. The women wear a short jacket and petticoat, a kind of loose gown, and a veil. They usually adorn their arms and wrists with a number of bracelets of glass, iron, copper, silver, or pewter, according to their circumstances. The small of their legs, their fingers and toes, have likewise chains and rings, and their ears are weighed down and greatly dilated with mock jewels, and ornaments of metal. They usually carry large knives, or poniards, which are stuck in a sash they wear round their waists; they

they have commonly wrought wooden handles, but some are of agate or silver.

The people chiefly subsist on vegetables and milk, which they have in great plenty and perfection; eating with their sallads a kind of fyrrup resembling treacle, prepared from the juice yielded by the cocoa-tree on incision. Their language is a corrupt *Arabic*, mixed with the *Zanguebar* tongue. Their manners still retain much of the simplicity of uncultivated nature, but the richness of the soil renders them indolent. Their religion is a mixture of Mahometism, and other gross superstitions. They often divorce their wives on slight pretences; they have generally two or three of them, and as many concubines as they can maintain. They are very forward to beg any thing they like; but are not inclined to thieving. They are very jealous of most *European* nations, particularly the *Portuguese*, but treat the *English* with much cordiality.



CHAP. II.

The Author arrives at Bombay, which is described. An Account of its Government, and of the neighbouring Islands, with a Description of the Marattas. To which is added, a concise Account of the Settlements of the East-India Company.

ON the 4th of *August* they weighed anchor, continued their voyage, and without meeting with any thing material in their passage, arrived on the 28th of the same month at *Combay*; where our Author was received with great politeness by the Governor, and in a few days entered upon the discharge of his office, as one of the clerks of the factory.

Bombay is an island situated in 18. 41. north latitude, on the coast of the hither peninsula of *India*, by the province of *Decan*, the high mountains of which are full in view. This, with the winding of other islands along the continent, forms a most commodious bay, capable of containing any number of ships. It is admirably situated for the center of commerce, with respect to the coast of *Malabar*, the *Persian* gulph, and the whole trade of that side of the great peninsula of *India*, and the northern parts adjoining to it. This island is within the Tropics; but the weather in the hottest season is moderated by the land and sea breezes; for there are very few calms.

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and those of a short duration; and then the sultry heat may be rendered supportable, by keeping in the shade, avoiding violent exercise, and using a light diet: but every one should take the greatest care to avoid exposing himself to the night dews, which are extremely dangerous. The seasons are generally divided into three, the cool, the hot, and the rainy, or into the dry weather, which lasts eight months, and into the wet, which continues about four, with short intermissions of fair weather. The setting-in of the rains is commonly ushered in by a violent thunder storm, called the *elephanta*, a name which it probably receives in the Asiatic style, from a comparison of its force with that of the elephant. This is a pleasing prelude to the refreshment that follows, from the rains moderating the excessive heat, which is then at its height.

The government of this island is subordinate to the directors of the *English East India* company, who by commission appoint a President, to whom they join a council of nine persons; but all of them are seldom or never on the spot, being employed as chiefs of the several factories subordinate to the President. Those at *Bombay* are such as enjoy posts of the greatest trust, such as the accountant, the warehouse-keeper, the land pay-master, and other officers for transacting the company's affairs. These are generally such as have risen by degrees from the station of writers, and take place according to seniority. The President and the

members on the spot constitute a regular council, in which every thing is determined by plurality of votes: yet the influence of the President is generally so great, that every thing is carried according to his dictates: for should any of the council oppose him, he can make their situation so uneasy, as to oblige them to quit the service, and repair home.

The military and marine force are more immediately under the direction of the President, who has the title of General and Commander in chief. The common soldiers are chiefly those whom the company send in their ships; deserters from the several nations settled in *India*, as *Portuguese*, *Dutch* and *French*, which last are usually called *Reynols*; and lastly *Topazes*, who are mostly black, or of a mixed breed from the *Portuguese*. These are formed into companies, under *English* officers. In this service may also be included regular companies formed of the natives: these soldiers are called seapoys: they use musquets: but are chiefly armed in the country manner, with sword and target, and wear the *Indian* dress, the turban, vest, and long drawers.

Nothing has contributed more to render this island populous, than the mildness of the government, and the toleration of all religions, which is so universal, that the *Roman Catholic* churches, the *Mahometan* mosques, the *Gentoo* pagodas, and the worship of the *Parsees*, who adore fire, on account of its being the brightest image of the Deity, are all equally tolerated: they have all the free exercise of their religious rites and ceremonies,

monies, without either the *English* interfering, or their clashing with each other. This toleration forms an amiable, and a very advantageous contrast to the rigours of the Inquisition exercised in the neighbouring territories of the *Portuguese*, whose unchristian zeal has rendered them odious, and was one of the principal reasons of their being driven out of the greatest part of their conquests there, by the *Marattas* who are all Gentoos.

The castle is a regular quadrangle, well built with strong hard stone. In one of the bastions is a large cistern, that contains a great quantity of rain-water. The town is surrounded with a wall, and a ditch, that can be filled at pleasure by letting in the sea. This renders it one of the strongest places subject to the company: likewise, at proper parts round the island, are disposed little out-forts and redoubts; but none of them are capable of making a long defence.

There is but one *English* church at *Bombay*, which is a neat, commodious, and airy building, situated in a spacious area before the fort. This area is planted with trees, and has the houses of the *English* inhabitants on the sides. These consist generally of but one floor, with a yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houses. They are well built with stone and lime, and are frequently white-washed on the outside, which though it has a neat air, is prejudicial to the sight. Glass windows are but little used, the sashes being generally paned with a kind of transparent
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oyster-shells, square-cut, which give a sufficient light, and have a cool look: the flooring is usually made of a stucco of burnt shells, that is extremely hard and lasting, and takes so fine a polish, that one may literally see one's face in it.

The houses of the black merchants are extremely ill built, and incommodious; the windows small and ill distributed: but most of those both of the *English* and natives, have small ranges of pillars, that support a pent-house or shed, either round the building, or on particular sides; these afford a pleasing shelter from the sun, and keep the inward apartments cool and refreshed by the draught of air under them. Most of the best houses are within the walls, which are about a mile in circuit. The pagodas of the Gentoos are low mean buildings, that commonly admit the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol. They are very fond of having them built upon trees, and near the side of a pond.

There are two very pleasant gardens belonging to the company, laid out after the *European* manner, one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the *English* gentlemen who chuse to walk in it; and a much larger and finer one, at a place called *Parell*, where the Governor has a very agreeable country house. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long,

The most considerable part of the island is taken up with groves of cocoa-nut-trees, which are

are planted wherever the situation, and soil are favourable to them. These are the chief landed property. When a number of these groves lie contiguous to each other, a due space is left for roads; and they are also thick set with houses belonging to the respective proprietors, and with huts of the poorer sort. These trees are easily cultivated, and a person that has 200 of them, is supposed to have a sufficient subsistence.

There are here also fields of rice, and here and there are interspersed wild palm trees, the chief profit drawn from which arises from the toddy or liquor that flows from incisions at the top: of this liquor arrack is made, that is esteemed better than that prepared in the same manner from the cocoa-nut trees. In short, there is not a spot of the island left uncultivated; but it is far from producing sufficient for the support of the inhabitants.

As to the islands near *Bombay*, the first Mr. *Grose* mentions is *Old Woman's* island, a narrow strip of land, only separated by the sea at flood; it is about two miles long, and is terminated at the end by a small eminence, on which is a watch-tower. At the mouth of the harbour are two fortified rocks, called *Canara* and *Henara*.

Opposite the castle at three leagues distance, is *Butcher's* island, thus named from the cattle being kept there for the use of *Bombay*. It belongs to the *English*, who have a fort there, with an *English*'s guard.

About three miles from thence, is the small island of *Caranja*, which lately belonged to the *Portuguese*; but with many of the neighbouring

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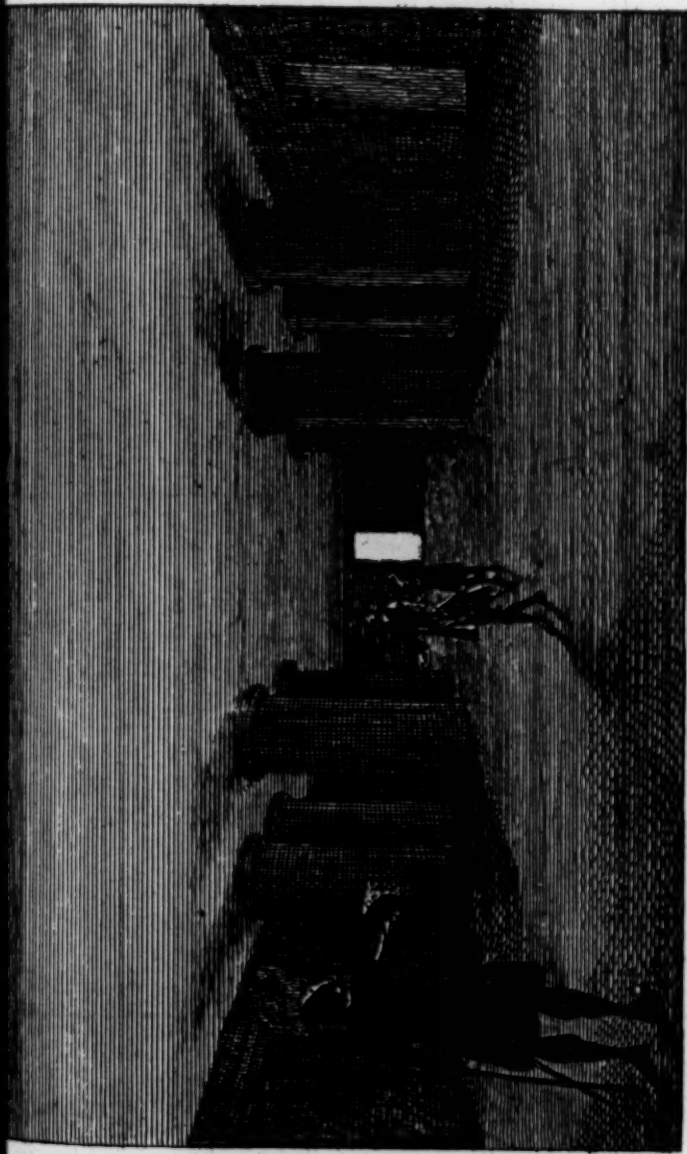
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ing places fell under the power of the *Marattas*. It produces only a little rice, with goats, fowls, and garden-stuff for *Bombay* market.

Two miles from the last mentioned island, and still fronting the fort, is the remarkable island of *Elephanta*, which is only about three miles round, and consists of almost all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you see above the shore an elephant coarsely cut in stone, of the natural size, which at a little distance may be taken for a real elephant, from the stone being naturally of the colour of that animal. It stands on a platform of stones of the same colour. On the back of this elephant was placed a young one standing, appearing to have been both of the same stone; but it has been long broken off. No tradition is old enough to give an account of the time or use for which this elephant was thus carved.

On ascending near half way up the hill, you come to the entrance of a stupendous temple, hewn out of the solid rock. It is an oblong square 80 or 90 feet long, and 40 broad. The roof is formed of the rock cut flat; it is about 10 feet high, and is supported towards the middle, at an equal distance from the sides, and from one another, by two regular rows of pillars of a singular order. They are very massy and thick in proportion to their height, and their capitals bear some resemblance to a round cushion, pressed by the weight of the superincumbent mountain, with which they are also of one piece. At the further end are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which

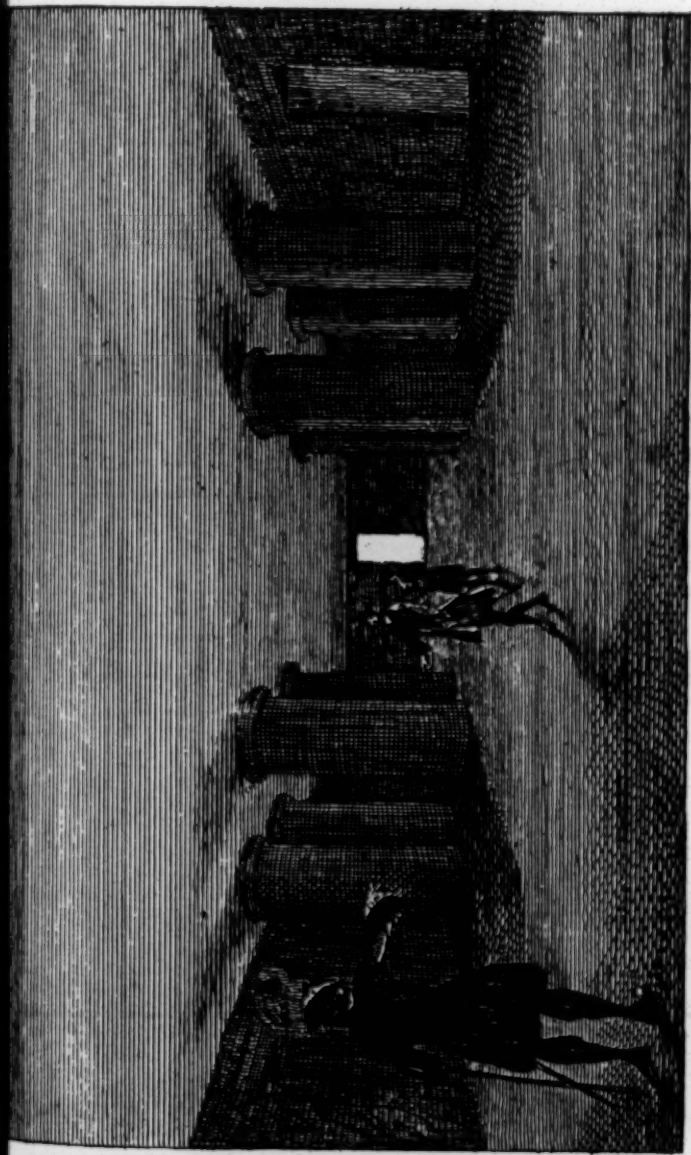


*An inside View of an Ancient Temple, cut in a Rock in
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On ascending near half way up the hill, you come to the entrance of a stupendous temple, hewn out of the solid rock. It is an oblong square 80 or 90 feet long, and 40 broad. The roof is formed of the rock cut flat; it is about 10 feet high, and is supported towards the middle, at an equal distance from the sides, and from one another, by two regular rows of pillars of a singular order. They are very massy and thick in proportion to their height, and their capitals bear some resemblance to a round cushion, pressed by the weight of the superincumbent mountain, with which they are also of one piece. At the further end are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which



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which is at least five feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth; but these monuments of antiquity were much disfigured by the blind fury of the *Portuguese*, when they made themselves masters of the place. About two thirds of the way up this temple, are two doors fronting each other, leading into smaller grotts, that open upon the hill. By the door way on the right hand, are also several mutilated images, single and in groupes, particularly one that has some resemblance to the story of *Solomon's* dividing the child; a figure standing with a drawn sword in one hand, and holding an infant in the other, with the head downwards. The door way on the left hand opens into an area of about 20 feet in length, and 12 in breadth, at the upper end of which on the right hand, is a colonade, covered at the top; it is 10 or 12 feet deep, and in length answers to the breadth of the area: this joins to an apartment adorned with regular architecture; it is an oblong square, and has a door in perfect symmetry. The whole is executed in a taste very different from any of the oldest, and the best *Gentoo* buildings any where extant. It is remarkable that round the cornices are some paintings, the colours of which remain exceeding bright and fresh, though, supposing they are as old as the temple, they must have been there some thousand years. The time when this great work was performed is entirely unknown. The most probable conjecture is, that it was formed by the aborigines of the country, and that the religion of
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the Gentoos has undergone some revolution, since those of the present age have not the least tradition of its origin, or any veneration for the place, except on account of its undoubted antiquity. However, on the most sultry days during the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler and pleasanter retreat: for though the air be all on fire without, you no sooner enter the cave, than you are refreshed with a sensible coolness. The three openings above-mentioned, not only affording a sufficient light, but a thorough draught of air, while it more particularly receives a constant temperature, by its being impenetrable to the rays of the sun, from the thickness of the mountainous mass above it.

This small island contains nothing else worthy of observation, there being only two or three huts upon it, and no other water, but what is collected from the rains.

To the northward, is the fertile island of *Salfett*, which though the *Portuguese* ceded to *England* with *Bombay*, we were basely defrauded of it in breach of all the rules of good faith: but they themselves have been since deprived of it by the *Marattas*. There can scarcely be conceived a more agreeable spot. It is about 20 miles long, and on a medium, eight or nine broad. The soil is very rich, and capable of producing every thing that grows between the tropics; and it is furnished with plenty of all sorts of game. In this island also are several temples cut in the rock, supposed cotemporary with that of *Elepbanta*; but none of these

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these are equal to that in bigness and workmanship.

Having treated of the islands, we shall now take notice of the continent bordering on *Bombay*, to which it is in a manner joined by two forts, by means of which one may pass to it without taking boat. It is inhabited by the *Marrattas*, a powerful *Indian* tribe, subject to the Mar-Rajah, who is their King or Chief. They are generally a clean-limbed, strait people, it being very rare to see a deformed person among them : their complexions are of all shades, from black to light brown, and it is observed, that they are fairer in proportion to their distance from the sea. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. They shave their heads, only preserving in the middle of it a lock at full length, so as to tie and hang down behind, and two curls, one on each side, just above the ears. Their women are commonly very handsome while the bloom of youth continues ; but that soon fades ; for few preserve the charms of their shape and skin till they are thirty, when they are generally past child bearing.

The common people wear a roll of coarse muslin round their heads, or, perhaps, a bit of cloth or calicoe ; they have a short piece of cloth round their waists, and a loose mantle, which they throw over their shoulders, and spread on the ground when they take their rest. They are equally bred to agriculture and to arms ; but the pay of those in actual service is extremely small, and not furnished in money, but in rice,

tobacco, salt, pieces of cloth, and other necessaries of life. They have extended their dominions by the sword; and by encouraging *Europeans* to desert to them, have learned the art of war, as practised in *Europe*, and can form regular sieges: but are more fit for sudden excursions. Their horses, on which they chiefly rely, are small, but hardy, inured to fatigue, and sure footed. Many of the men have muskets; but they are very indifferent ones, and most of them match-locks: but their chief dependance is on their swords and targets: the former being of an admirable temper, they are well trained in the exercise of them, and look with great contempt on those brought by our ships from *Europe*. Their targets are exactly round, rising in the middle, almost to a point; they are hard, light, smooth, and well varnished; they will therefore easily turn a pistol-ball, and at some distance a musket-ball. They have also among them excellent slingers and archers.

Their diet is extremely portable; a little rice, and a leathern flask for water, are all that is necessary, so that every soldier may easily carry his own allowance; nor do the officers fare more sumptuously, nothing being more simple than their food, especially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and with great address.

The *Marattas* affect the appearance of the utmost poverty in their houses, and dress, to avoid becoming a prey to their rapacious government, which never spares a subject known

to be rich, though they are sometime left quietly to amass wealth, which is considered as so much in bank, to be seized whenever the government pleases to call for it, and here no distinction is made with respect to the office, and rank of the persons to be plundered, except of the great military officers, who are made the instruments of oppression, and whom it is not safe to disoblige. This has occasioned immense treasures to be buried; not as has been supposed, from the opinion that they will be of use to the owners in another life; as is evident from their never burying them when they live under a free government.

The Mar-Rajah generally keeps his court, or more properly his head military quarters, at the fort of *Raree*, in the mountains of *Decan*, which is said to be the most impregnable place in the world, it being a fortified mound of very high rocks, so steep as to be only accessible by one narrow path. The land thus inclosed, is sufficient to produce grain enough for the support of the garrison; and besides great quantities of corn are constantly kept there in the magazines. A small number of men is sufficient to defend this natural fortress, against the greatest armies that could be brought against it, as all the passages and defiles among the mountains leading to it, are extremely rugged and narrow.

Here the Mar-Rajah most frequently resides, with a kind of military court, composed of his Generals and Officers, in all the state of a Sovereign Prince; but both he and his court

are so engrossed by military operations, that they are extremely incurious, with respect to the manufactures and arts of the *Europeans*. The people in general have an high opinion of judicial astrology, and are superstitious observers of good and bad days. They are by religion *Gentoo*s, or *Gentiles*, and notwithstanding their being *Idolaters*, are distinguished by allowing an unlimited toleration to every other religion, maintaining that a diversity of modes of worship is agreeable to the God of the universe. That all prayers offered by man are rendered equally acceptable by the sincerity of the intention; and that the forms of religion being merely accidental, all change is a needless experiment. Hence, instead of persecuting other religions, they will not admit proselytes into their own.

We shall now proceed to give a concise account of all the other possessions and settlements belonging to that wealthy body, the *English East India Company* *.

The most westerly of their settlements, and consequently the nearest to *England*, is that of *Mocha*, a city seated at the entrance of the *Red Sea*, in 13. 11. north latitude, a place of great trade, where, notwithstanding the hardships suffered by Sir *Henry Middleton*, as already mentioned in his voyage, the *English* are

* *This account of the settlement of the Company, is taken from a work, intitled, A New History of the East Indies, Ancient and Modern, in 2 Volumes, 8vo.*

now much caressed, and carry on a prodigious trade for coffee and other commodities, both there and in the adjacent parts of *Arabia*: but one inconvenience which the company shares here in conjunction with other nations is, the exactions of the *Arab* Princes.

The next settlement to the east, is *Gombroon*, or *Gambroon*, on the coast of *Persia*, in the latitude of 27. 40. north, and justly accounted one of the greatest marts in the east. The *English* began to settle here about the year 1613, when as a reward for the services performed by that nation against the *Portuguese*, *Sbab Abas* granted them half the customs of that port. This revenue was, however, at last reduced to 1000 tomans a year, that is, in our money, 3333 l. 6 s. 8 d. but this has been ill paid. The company suffered greatly by the rebellions and dreadful ravages that have for some years laid waste all *Persia*. But the company still maintain a noble factory here, where all their trade in the *Persian* empire is carried on; a branch of commerce that takes off a prodigious quantity of *European* commodities.

On the western coasts of *India* they are possessed of forts, factories or settlements at *Barrack*, *Swally*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, *Dabul*, *Carwar*, *Tellechery*, *Anjengo*, and *Corymore*, all of them on the *Malabar* shore.

On the eastern shore of *India*, or the coast of *Coromandel*, stands *Madras*, or *Fort St. George*, the capital of the *English* company's dominions in the *Indies*. It is situated on one of the most incommodious spots imaginable; the sea per-

petually beats with prodigious violence on the sands, upon which it stands ; there is no fresh water within less than a mile of it ; in the rainy season it is subject to inundations from the river ; and the sun from *April* to *September* is so unsufferably hot, that the sea breezes are the only circumstance that renders it habitable. The war carried on by the company at *Bombay* and *Bengal* against the Mogul's subjects. was a considerable advantage to *Madras*. The tranquillity which reigned there, and the vicinity to the diamond mines of *Golconda*, where good purchases are frequently made, caused a prodigious resort of *Indian* and *Black* merchants to this place, and thus principally contributed to render it populous and flourishing. The town is divided into two parts : that inhabited by *Europeans*, called the *White Town*, is walled round, and can only be attacked at two places, the sea and river defending the rest. There are two churches here, one for the *English*, the other for those of the *Romish* communion. The government of both towns, are absolutely vested in the Governor, who likewise commands in chief in military concerns, and all the other affairs of the company are managed by the Governor and his council in conjunction. The company have their mint here for coining of money from bullion brought from *Europe*, and elsewhere, into rupees, and this brings them a considerable revenue : they also coin gold in pagodas of different denominations and value.

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The diamond mines lie at a week's journey from this place. When a person goes thither in order to obtain diamonds, he first makes choice of a piece of ground to dig in, and then informs the King's officers appointed for that service of his intentions. The money for leave to dig being paid, the ground is inclosed, and sentinels placed round it. All stones above the weight of sixty grains belong to the King, and frauds in this particular are punished with death. Some get estates, while others lose their money and their labour.

This colony produces little of its own growth, and next to no manufactures for foreign trade. The *Moors*, *Gentoos*, and *Armenians* have got possession of the trade that used to be carried on to *Pegu*, the *English* being now chiefly employed in ship building. The people of *Surat* share in their trade to *China*; the gold and some copper only are for their own market; the gross of their cargoes of sugar, sugar-candy, allum, *China*-ware, and some drugs, are all destined for *Surat*. Their trade to *Persia*, is carried on by the way of the river *Ganges*. The trade to *Mocha* in *Coromandel* goods, began about the year 1713, *Fort St. David*, an *English* settlement, farther to the south, supplying the goods for that market. Thus the trade of *Fort St. George*, like that of *Holland*, consists in supplying foreign markets with foreign productions. There were some years ago computed to be in the towns and villages belonging to this colony 80,000 people, and 500 of these *Europeans*. The Governor has great power,
and

and is treated as a Sovereign by the Rajahs of the country. He appears abroad with great magnificence, having besides his *English* guards, seldom fewer than three or fourscore persons in arms. Two union flags are carried before him, with a band of music, such as is used in that country; and there are two persons near him, whose office is to cool him with fans, and chase away the flies.

There were formerly several other *European* settlements on the same coasts; but all of them were abandoned, on account of the exactions of the Rajahs of the adjacent countries.

The company are believed to possess the best part of the trade carried on in *Sumatra*. Their factories there are those of *Mocha*, *Bantal*, *Cattoun*, *Bencoolen*, *Marlbrough Fort*, and *Sillebar*. The *English* were also formerly in possession of several settlements on the coasts of the *Chinese* empire, as well as in the kingdom of *Tonquin*; but they are now all of them withdrawn, though the company still trade to those parts, especially to *Tonquin*, for such articles as they want themselves, or purchase in order to sell to the rest of *Europe*, which latter are abundantly numerous. The company's factory was formerly settled in the island of *Chusan*, when the trade was carried on at *Amoyor*, from whence it was removed to *Canton*.

The *English* and *Dutch* are the only nations excluded by the *Spaniards* from trading to the *Manila*, or *Philippine* islands; and in *Japan* there is not the least vestige of any *English* commerce, all the commodities of that empire,
with

with which our company is supplied, being furnished by means of their commerce with the *Chinese* and *Dutch*.

The *English East India* company in their trade, annually employ 17 sail of fine capital ships, each of the burden of 500 tons, mounting 30 guns, and manned with 100 mariners.



T H E
V O Y A G E
O F
Commodore ROGGEWEIN
F O R T H E
DISCOVERY of SOUTHERN LANDS.



C H A P. I.

The Commodore sails from the Texel with three Ships. The ill Behaviour of a Swabber on board, and his Punishment. The Crew greatly distressed for want of Water. They are surprized with a strange Phænomenon, and arrive off Porto. whence they proceed to St. Sebastian. A Description of the Town of St. Sebastian, with some Account of the adjacent Country, and the Behaviour of the Governor till their Departure.

ABOUT the year 1696, Mr. Roggewein, a gentleman, of the province of Zealand, formed a project for discovering the vast continent, and the many islands, supposed to lie in the

the southern part of the globe, which he presented to the *Dutch West India Company*, who assured him of all the assistance he could desire, as soon as their affairs would permit; but he dying soon after, on his death-bed recommended to his son the prosecution of these discoveries. The young gentleman, after his father's decease became counsellor in the court of justice at *Batavia*, whither he went, and resided there many years. After his return from the *Indies*, where he had acquired an handsome fortune, he resolved to perform the promise he had made to his father, and in the year 1721, presented a memorial to the *West India company*, which immediately gave orders for equipping a squadron of three ships, viz. The *Eagle* of 36 guns, and 111 men, commanded by Captain *Job Coster*, on board of which embarked the Commodore. The *Tienhoven* of 28 guns, and 100 men, commanded by Captain *James Bowman*; and the *African* galley of fourteen guns, and sixty men, commanded by Captain *Henry Rosenthal*. This small squadron sailed from the *Texel* on the 21st of *August*, 1721, with a fair wind, which however changed the next day, and obliged them to spend three days in beating through the channel. They then continued their course to the south-west, in order to gain the coast of *Barbary*, but were prevented by a violent storm, which did them much damage, and was succeeded by a sudden calm, during which the waves ran mountains high, when one of their vessels lost her main-top and mizen; mast,

mast, and the *Eagle's* main sail-yard came down with such force by the rolling of the ship, that it wounded several people upon deck. But after two days the wind freshened, and they began to recover from the fatigues they had sustained.

During this time they continued to steer south-west, in hopes of gaining the *Canaries*, and diverted themselves with observing the manner in which the flying-fish endeavours to escape its enemies the albicores and bonitos. The flying-fish is not much bigger than an herring, and the fins, with which it flies, are for strength and texture not unlike the wings of a bat. The *Dutch* sailors esteem them very good food, and, therefore, are never better pleased than when they meet with plenty of them. The bonito, is a fish about two feet long, of a greyish colour, and finely streaked from the head to the tail; but the flesh is dry, hard, and of a disagreeable taste. The albicore resembles the bonito in every thing but its size; but it is generally speaking five or six feet long, and sometimes weighs 150 pounds.

At length being in the latitude of 28° . while they were expecting that they should soon see some of the *Canary* islands, the man at the mast head informed them, that he discovered a sail, which carried *English* colours. On their drawing near enough to discern her motions, they perceived that she struck her colours, and bore away from them. But in an hour's time she appeared again, with four sail more in her company, which sometimes carried white, some

times

times black, and at last red colours, which gave reason to suspect that they were pirates. The Commodore immediately made the signal for a line of battle. All hands were employed in making a clear ship, in filling granades and preparing for the engagement, in which they were so happy as to have the advantage of the wind. The pirates immediately drew up in a line, struck their red, and hoisted a black flag, with a death's hand in the center, a powder horn over it, and two bones a-cross underneath. In an hour's time the action began. The pirates fought briskly for about two hours, when they spread all the canvas they could, and crowded away as fast as possible. By this engagement, the Commodore had four killed, and nine wounded; and in the other ships, there were seven killed, and 26 wounded. The carpenters were now fully employed in stopping the leaks, and repairing the damage they had received.

On the 15th of *November* they continued their voyage, and arrived in sight of the island of *Madeira*, which afforded a beautiful prospect at a distance, and near it they saw a desert island, much frequented by the pirates. They had likewise a sight of the Pike of *Teneriffe*, at about 25 leagues distance. From these islands they continued steering south-west, for those of *Cape Verd*. But having the advantage of a strong north-east wind, they continued their course for six weeks, without coming to an anchor or handing a sail. In this long passage they had some days, in which the heat

was almost insupportable, and the crew began to murmur excessively, on account of their being at short allowance for water.

This soon after produced a very extraordinary accident. One of the swabbers being exceeding thirsty, got down into the hold and pierced a cask, which unluckily proved to be brandy instead of water, of which he drank so heartily, that he was soon intoxicated to a degree of madness. In this condition he went directly into the cook-room, where he threw down a pan of grease, at which the cook threatened to break his neck; and the other replied, that he would cut his throat if he spoke another word, and drawing his knife at the same instant, rushed upon him without the least notice. Some of the crew immediately gathered about him, and at last got the knife out of the fellow's hands, but not before he had drawn it twice or thrice across the cook's face. For this the fellow was heartily drubbed, which he resented to such a degree, that as soon as he had got loose, he took up a knife and gave himself three or four stabs in the belly. That such accidents might be prevented for the future, the utmost care was taken of him till his wounds were cured, in order to make him a public example, and after his recovery, he was treated in the following manner. In the first place, he was declared infamous at the fore-mast; he was then thrice keel-hauled; then he had 300 strokes upon the buttocks, after which he had his right hand fastened to the mast with his own knife. When he

he had stood in this condition some minutes, he was carried to the forecattle, and chained, where, for a certain number of days, he was allowed only bread and water, and after all was put in irons, till he could be set on shore in the first barren uninhabited island they came to.

They continued their voyage, till they approached the line, when they were greatly incommoded by the frequent shifting of the wind. At the same time their thirst increasing, many of the ship's crew were ill of the scurvy, and when they met, as they sometimes did, with a calm, which rendered the heat of the sun greater than ordinary, some of the crew became quite distracted, others fell into high fevers; some had fits like the falling sickness, and most of them lost their appetite. Their fresh water, as it grew low, not only stunk abominably, but was full of worms; their salt provisions being in a manner quite spoiled, served only to increase their drought, and they soon found that excessive thirst was one of the greatest miseries incident to human nature.

About this time, they frequently observed towards the evening that the sea appeared to be all on fire, as if covered with flaming brimstone, and taking up several buckets of water, when it was in this condition, in order to examine it the more closely, it was found to be full of an infinite number of small globules of the size, form, and colour of pearls, which retained their lustre for some time after they were held in the hand; but on being pressed between the

fingers, appeared to be nothing more than an earthy fat substance. These globules, the author * imagines to be nothing more than the phlegmatic and grosser part of the salts, contained in the water, concreted by the excessive heat of the sun in calm weather, and again broken and dispersed by the motion of the winds and waves.

At length they passed the line with the loss only of a single man, who died of a high fever. When they arrived in the latitude of 3° . south, they met with the true monsoon, before which they bore away at a great rate, and on their coming into 6° . they caught a great number of dorados and dolphins.

They now drew near *Brasil*, and passed by some of the uninhabited islands that lie on the coast. Their design was to have anchored at the island *Grande*; but finding they were past it, they continued their course, till they arrived off *Porto* in the latitude of 24° . south, when coming to an anchor, some of the ship's company, of whom our author was one, got into the shallop to go on shore, as well for the sake of getting wood, water, and fresh provisions, as in order to bury one of the seamen; but as they approached the land, they saw a body of *Portuguese* well armed, moving along the coast, who appeared to have no other design than to keep them from landing, and as they drew nearer they beckoned to

* *The Gentleman who commanded the Land Forces on board the Commodore.*

them

them to keep off, threatening to fire upon them if they attempted to land; but upon shewing them the dead body, they suffered them to go on shore, and even shewed them a place where they might inter it.

As the *Dutch* were very desirous of gaining some intelligence, they asked many questions about the country, to which they could obtain no other answer, than that *Porto* was an advanced port to *St. Sebastian*, not marked in the chart, and that they were inhabitants of *Rio Janeiro*, which lay about eight miles off. The *Dutch* then endeavoured to persuade them to go on board their vessels, which they refused, apprehending that they were pirates: However, using the warmest intreaties, and giving them the strongest assurances possible, two of them were prevailed upon to go on board, where they were very kindly received, and had presents made them of cloaths, with which they were so pleased, that they promised to conduct the whole squadron into a safe port. In this they were as good as their words, to the great joy of the sailors, who were almost worn out with fatigues, and in a manner perished for want of liquids.

On entering the harbour of *Porto* to the south-west, all the coast along which they sailed was very high, and intermingled with mountains and valleys, overgrown with shrubs. The town of *Porte* is in a pleasant situation: but at this time there were no inhabitants there. The fish and turtle they caught were of an exquisite taste, so that most of the

106 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN's VOYAGE*

people who were ill of the scurvy, amounting to about 40, began to recover very fast; but after staying there two days, in which they took in a supply of wood and water, they weighed anchor, and continued the same course to the south-west.

After sailing about six leagues, and seeing many small islands at a distance, they found themselves in the road of *St. Sebastian*; but the very instant they entered the mouth of the river, there arose a storm which blew with such violence, that for fear of being driven on the rocks they dropped their anchors and waited the return of the tide. However the next day they weighed, entered the port, and came to an anchor before the town, which they saluted thrice with seven, five, and three guns; but without receiving the least answer, either because the *Portuguese* guns were not in order, or because the people were not pleased with their arrival, as suspecting that they were little better than pirates.

In order to remove these doubts, the Commodore wrote a letter to the Governor, informing him who they were, and desiring that he would furnish them with cattle, herbs, fruit, wood, and water, for ready money; and also requesting, as a favour, that his Excellency would allow them to build a few huts on shore for the refreshment of their sick men. The Governor returned for answer, That as he was subordinate to the Governor of *Rio Janeiro*, it was out of his power to comply with this request; but that he would dispatch an express thither

thither immediately, and hoped he would allow him time to receive an answer. The *Dutch* Commodore was very far from being satisfied with this letter, and therefore let the *Portuguese* Governor know, that as he was very willing to deal with him for money, so if he could not obtain what he wanted by fair means, he should be obliged, however contrary to his inclinations, to take it by force. However, having learned that there was a *Franciscan* monastery in the town, he, at the same time that he dispatched this message, sent to acquaint the fathers with his arrival, and accompany'd this intelligence with a present.

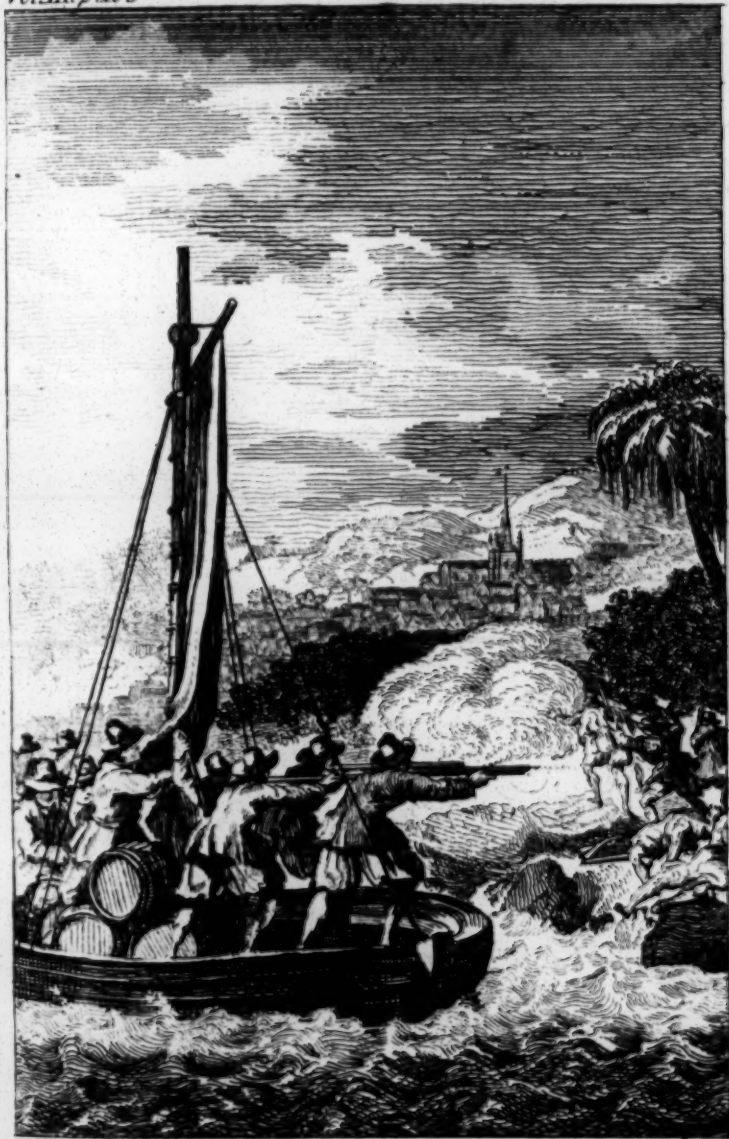
It happened very luckily, that in this monastery there was one father *Thomas*, a native of *Utrecht*, who immediately came on board, with several of the monks. This honest *Franciscan* was so delighted at the sight of his countrymen, that he declared he should now die in peace, he having for 22 years earnestly wished to enjoy this satisfaction. The Commodore made him exceeding welcome, and gave the monks whatever they desired for the use of their monastery; however, the prior, who was one of those who came on board, intreated him to have patience till the return of the express from *Rio Janeiro*, promising to use all his interest with the Governor, in order to prevail on him to comply with his demands, and they parted very well satisfied with each other.

In the mean time the *Portuguese* came down in great bodies well armed to the coast, and posted themselves in those places where they imagined

imagined the *Dutch* shallop would attempt to put her men on shore, and on the approach of the shallop, the *Portuguese* firing upon them, one of the *Dutchmen* was dangerously wounded in the shoulder. Upon this the boat's crew returning the compliment by a general discharge of their small arms, two of the *Portuguese* fell; at seeing which the rest made a precipitate retreat, when the *Dutch* immediately landing, filled what water they had occasion for, and then returned on board.

On the report of what had happened, the Commodore made the necessary dispositions for attacking the place, and stationed his ships accordingly. The smallest was ordered in as near the town as possible. The *Tienhoven* was ordered to watch the coast, and the Commodore anchored, as near as he could to the convent, as if he had intended to beat it down to the ground. This was, however, only designed to frighten the *Portuguese* into a better behaviour, and it produced the desired effect. For soon after the Deputy Governor came on board, and entered into a treaty, by which he granted all that had been asked. But at the same time shewed much diffidence of their paying for what was furnished them. Because having lately treated with a *French* ship in the same manner, the Captain at his departure threatened to beat the town about their ears, in case they insisted on being paid according to his promise.

The sick being landed on the island, were daily furnished by the *Portuguese* with beef,
mutton,



*An Engagement between a Dutch
Shallop and Portuguese, near
St. Sebastian.*

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mutton, fowls, herbs, fruit, and whatever else they wanted. The ship's company also having leave to go on shore, soon contracted an acquaintance with the *Portuguese*; and though the Governor had prohibited any kind of commerce, on the severest penalties, they obtained sugar, tobacco, brandy, and whatever else they desired in exchange for *European* goods: By which means the *Portuguese* were so well satisfied, with respect to the honesty of the *Dutch*, that of their own accord they brought back all the rich effects that had been carried away, when their ships first appeared before the town.

St. Sebastian is situated in 24° . south latitude, and 60° . longitude from the Peak of *Teneriffe*, where the *Dutch* constantly fix their first meridian. It is a place of moderate extent, and but indifferently fortified, it being surrounded with palisadoes, and furnished with only a few pieces of cannon. The church is however a very beautiful edifice. The Governor's palace is a magnificent building. The *Franciscan* monastery stands on the south side of the town, and contains about 30 monks, who live there very commodiously. The Prior shewed the Commodore and the rest of the Officers, an Idol which had been worshipped by the ancient inhabitants of the place. This was a statue about four feet high, representing a creature half tyger and half lion. It was said to be of massy gold; but the Author suspected, that it was only gilt. Its feet resembled the paws of a lion: Its head was adorned with a double crown,

110 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE*

crown, in which stuck twelve *Indian* darts, one of them on each side was broken in the middle, and on each shoulder was a large wing, like that of a stork. Its tail was very long, and turned three or four times round the body of a man, who was completely armed after the manner of the country, he having a quiver of arrows at his back, with an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left. The *Dutch* looked upon this idol with great astonishment, and had the pleasure of seeing a numerous collection of *European* and *American* curiosities that were in the possession of the monks.

But how well soever the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* might agree, the Governor was far from being satisfied with his new guests; for having learned that the design of their voyage was to make discoveries to the south, he practised every art to hinder and distress them. With this view, he furnished them with provisions only from day to day, to prevent their adding to their sea stores. In order to put them in fear of being attacked, he talked of five or six men of war coming from *Rio Janeiro*, and actually sent for the only ship that was then there to come to *St. Sebastian's*. The Commodore penetrating into his views, took no notice of them, but complying exactly with the terms stipulated with the Deputy Governor, daily saved a part of the fresh provisions, which he caused to be salted; cleaned and repaired his ships, one by one, and took on board tobacco, sugar, and whatever else he wanted, till he thought himself in a condition

to continue his voyage, and then having fully satisfied the Governor, in *European* commodities, made him a very considerable present. The Governor in return sent him some black cattle, and a certificate of his integrity.

Every thing being thus settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties, the *Dutch* Commodore sailed with his squadron, keeping still to the south west, and finding a desert island about three leagues from the coast, he there set on shore the swabber, who had attempted to murder the cook, according to the sentence passed upon him.



C H A P. II.

The Squadron sails from the Coast of Brasil, and at length meets with a violent Storm, in which the Ships are separated from the Tienhoven. They discover an Island, to which they give the Name of Belgia Australis. Pass the Streights of Le Maire, and arrive at the Island Mocha; but finding it deserted by the Inhabitants, proceed to Juan Fernandes, where, to their great Surprise, they find the Tienhoven. Sailing from thence, they discover Pasch Island. The Inhabitants described; with some Account of the Country. They discover several other Islands, on one of which the African Galley is lost: These Islands, and their Inhabitants, described.

THE Squadron after leaving the coast of Brasil, prosecuted their voyage very happily for some time, by continuing always within 40 or 50 leagues of the American shore; by which the men enjoyed the benefit of the land and sea winds, whereas if they had kept further from land, they would infallibly have fallen in with the west monsoon; but on the 21st of December, when they were in the latitude of 40. south, they were surprized by a hurricane, attended with thunder and lightning, which left them no other resource than furling their sails, and lying at the mercy of the wind and waves, the sea running so high

that they expected every moment to be swallowed up. In this storm they were separated from the *Tienhoven*, and did not meet with her again till three months after. The violence of this hurricane lasted about four hours; but it was not entirely over for several days. The Commodore and his consort the *African* galley, now continued their course to the south-south-west, till by the assistance of the land winds they were in the height of the streights of *Magellan*.

They at this time discovered an island of near 200 leagues in circumference, at about fourscore leagues distance from the main land of *America*, and as they saw no smoke, nor any boat or other embarkation on the coast, they concluded that it was uninhabited. The west coast of this island was first discovered by a *French* privateer, who called it the island of *St. Lewis*; but the *Dutch* afterwards observing its many capes, fancied them to be so many different islands, and therefore gave them the name of the *New Islands*. Commodore *Roggewein's* Squadron was the first that viewed the island all round. It lies in latitude 52° . south, and in longitude 95° . They called it *Belgia Australis*; because whenever it comes to be inhabited, such as dwell thereon will be strictly and properly Antipodes, to the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*.

The land appeared extremely beautiful, and very fertile: It was chequered with mountains and valleys, all of which were cloathed with very fine strait trees; the verdure of the mea-

dows, and the freshness of the woods, afforded a most delightful prospect; so that the ships companies were unanimously of opinion, that if they had gone on shore, they should have found excellent fruit: but the Commodore would not allow them to land, for fear of losing time, and from an apprehension that any delay might hinder his getting round *Cape Horn*. He therefore chose to defer a thorough examination of this New Country, till he should return from the discovery of the southern continents and islands: But as he was obliged to return home with his squadron by the *East Indies*, it continued in a great measure unknown. The Commodore afterwards much regretted his not laying hold of that opportunity of spending a few days there; as this might perhaps have produced the fixing a colony upon it, by which means many other considerable discoveries might in a short time have been conveniently made.

Quitting this island, they returned to the mouth of the streights of *Magellan*, and then continued their course to the south, in order to pass the streights of *Le Maire*. In their way they saw abundance of whales and other large fish.

At length arriving in 55° . they began to imagine that they could not be far from the mouth of the streights, and immediately after they saw *Staten Land*, which forms one side of them. Here the fury of the waves, and the clashing of contending currents, gave such terrible shocks to their vessels, as made them reel in such a manner, that they every moment expected

pected that their masts would have come by the board. In this situation they would fain have cast anchor, especially when they found by sounding that the bottom was very good; but the weather was so rough as not to permit it. They passed the streights, which are about ten leagues in length, with a swiftness not to be expressed; this was owing to the force of the current. The currents without the streights, joined to a strong west wind, carried them far to the south, and that they might be sure to get round *Cape Horn*, they sailed as high as the latitude of $62^{\circ}. 30.$ where, for three weeks together, they sustained the most dreadful gulls of a furious west wind, accompanied with hail, snow, and the most piercing frost. At length the Commodore believing that he was beyond *Cape Horn*, steered to the northward, in order to fall in with the coast of *Chili*; but after continuing this course for three weeks longer, and seeing no land, they began to conclude that they had not doubled that Cape, but had stood away northerly too soon. However, on the 10th of *March*, being in the latitude of $37^{\circ}. 30.$ they discovered, to their great joy, the long wished-for coast of *Chili*, and soon after anchored on the coast of the island of *Mocha*, which is about three leagues from the continent.

They were in hopes of finding on this island, at least a part of the refreshments they wanted; particularly fresh meat and herbs; but to their great surprize were disappointed, it being intirely abandoned, all its inhabitants having

transported themselves to the main land. They however saw a multitude of horses and birds, and in two cabbins near the shore, they found some dogs. Upon a stricter and closer search, they discovered the wreck of a *Spanish* ship, from whence they concluded that the dogs had got on shore : And as to the horses, they supposed that they were left there to graze, and that their owners came at certain times from the main to take them up as they had occasion for them. They killed abundance of geese and ducks ; traversed every part of the country, and sounded along the coast, which they found every where extremely rocky, and no place where they could anchor with safety. Upon this they resolved to put to sea again without delay.

They continued for some time on the coast of *Chili*, in hopes of meeting with a port where they might anchor with safety, and get some refreshments ; but perceiving the *Spaniards* every where upon their guard, they steered towards the island of *Juan Fernandez*, and were just ready to enter the harbour, when, to their great surprize, they saw a ship riding there, which at first sight they conjectured was either a *Spanish* vessel of force, or a *French* interloper ; but upon more mature consideration, concluded she must be a pirate. While they were consulting what was best to be done, they observed the shallop belonging to this vessel making towards them, with a *Spanish* flag, upon which they prepared for an engagement ; but their amazement is not to be described, when

when on its nearer approach, some of the sailors cried out that it was the shallop of the *Tienbowen* their consort, separated from them three months before in the storm, and which they concluded had been buried in the waves. Captain *Bowman* himself was in the shallop, and as soon as he was on board the *Union* he made the signal agreed on with his own ship, in order to acquaint his people that these two vessels were their consorts; so that entering into the harbour they reciprocally saluted each other with five pieces of cannon.

As soon as he had leisure to enter into particulars, the Captain gave them an account of all that had happened since their separation; the dangers he had run through in passing the straits of *Magellan*, the storms and tempests he had met with, and acknowledged, that concluding the *Commodore* and the *African* galley were both lost, he never expected to see them more. He also informed them, that his ship was in a very bad condition, and had arrived at *Juan Fernandez* only in the evening before. The Captains afterwards dined very cheerfully together on board the *Tienbowen*, where they commiserated their past misfortunes, and rejoiced at their present meeting in safety.

As soon as the ships were brought to an anchor, they hoisted out their shallops in order to send the sick on shore, and to search for provisions and refreshments; and the men were no sooner landed, than they built up huts for the sick with green boughs. *Commodore Roggewein* having attentively considered the ad-

118 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE*

vantageous situation, and the many inconveniencies this beautiful island afforded, immediately conceived a design of settling it, as the most proper place that could be thought of, for affording shelter and refreshment to ships bound to the southern land; and he was particularly encouraged to persevere in this design, from the consideration of the fertility of the island. But this, like the settlement of *Belgia Australis*, was put off till their return, by which means neither of these islands were settled at all.

Mr. *Roggewein* on his leaving *Juan Fernandez*, proposed to visit a southern continent, said to have been discovered by Captain *Davis* in the year 1680, and having the benefit of a south-east monsoon, soon arrived in the latitude of 28 deg. and in 251 deg. longitude, where he expected to have met with *Davis's* land, of which every person on board had the greatest hopes, when they perceived abundance of fowls flying, and observed the frequent shifting of the winds, both of which are considered as certain signs of lands. Some of the company even flattered themselves that they saw it; but to the great mortification of the Commodore no such land was to be found, which indeed was no wonder, as according to Mr. *Wafer's* description of it, he sought it near 10°. too far to the west.

Having sailed 12°. west, still in sight of a vast number of birds, they arrived on the coast of a small island about sixteen leagues in extent, and as they discovered it on *Easter-day*, called it *Pasch*, or *Easter Island*. The *Arcan* galley being the smallest, and best sailer, went
first

first to examine this new country, and reported, that it appeared not only very fertile, but well inhabited, since the crew had seen abundance of smoke in all parts of the island. This news gave great joy to the Commodore. The next day they spent in looking for a port, when being about two miles from the shore, an *Indian* came off to them in his canoe; they made signs to him to come on board, which he very readily did, and was well received. As he was naked, the first present they made him was a piece of cloth to cover him, after which they gave him pieces of coral, beads, and other baubles, which, together with a dried fish, he hung about his neck. His body was painted all over with a variety of figures: His natural complexion appeared to be a dark brown, and his ears were so excessive large and long, that they reached to his shoulders, which was no doubt occasioned by the wearing of heavy ear-rings that had thus extended them. He was tall, well made, robust, and of a countenance expressive of great happiness. He was brisk, active, and by his gestures, and manner of speaking, appeared to be of a very merry disposition. They gave him a glass of wine to drink, which he threw away in a manner that surprized them. Our Author supposes he was afraid of being poisoned; but perhaps his being used to water, might render the smell of that liquor offensive. They next clothed him from head to foot, and put a hat on his head, with which he was not at all pleased; but appeared awkward and uneasy. They then gave him

him food, which he eat heartily, but could not be persuaded to use either knife or fork. Upon their ordering the music to play, he seemed extremely delighted, and whenever they took him by the hand, would leap and dance.

Finding it impossible to come to an anchor that day, they thought proper to send off the *Indian*, and, to encourage others, allowed him to keep what he had got; but to their great surprize, they found that the poor creature had no mind to go. He looked at them with regret, and held up both his hands towards his native island, crying in a very audible voice, *Odoroga! Odoroga! Odoroga!* and they had much ado to make him get into the canoe; he plainly shewing by his signs, that he had much rather they would have carried him away in their ship.

By day-break the next morning they entered a gulph, on the south-east side of the island, when great multitudes of the inhabitants came down to meet them, bringing vast quantities of fowls and roots; many came on board with these provisions, while the rest ran about from place to place. As the ships drew nearer, they crowded down to the shore, in order to have the better view of them, and at the same time lighted fires, and offered sacrifices to their idols, abundance of which were erected on the coast, probably with a view of imploring their protection. All that day the *Dutch* spent in mooring their ships, and very early the next morning observed the people again prostrated before these idols, towards the rising sun, and burning

sacri-

sacrifices before them. The necessary preparations being made for their landing; the friendly *Indian* who had been with them before, came on board a second time, bringing with him abundance of his countrymen, who to make themselves welcome, came with their canoes loaded with plenty of live fowls, and roots dressed after their manner. Among them was a man, whose complexion was perfectly white, in whose ears hung round white pendants as big as one's fist. This person had a very devout air, and seemed to be one of their Priests. While things were in this friendly situation, one of the Islanders was by some accident shot dead in his canoe, by a musket, which threw the rest into such consternation, that most of them leaped into the sea, in order to get the sooner on shore, while the rest, who remained in their canoes, rowed with all their strength, in order to obtain a place of safety.

The *Dutch* soon after followed them, and landed 150 soldiers and seamen, among whom was the Commodore in person, and the Author, who commanded the land forces; when the people crowding upon them, they had the rashness and cruelty to make their way by force, to which they were particularly prompted, by some of these *Indians*, being so curious as to lay their hands upon their arms. The *Dutch* therefore fired, and by this single discharge, many of these innocent people were killed, and among them the poor *Indian*, who had been twice on board; but though the rest
were

were almost frightened out of their wits, yet in a few moments they rallied again ; but kept at the distance of about ten yards, probably supposing they might there be safe from the muskets. Their consternation, however, was not soon over ; for they still made dismal lamentations, and purchased the dead bodies of their friends, by giving for them great plenty of provisions of all kinds. In order to pacify these invaders, both the men, women, and children, presented themselves before them, with all the signs of peace, and endeavoured to testify, by the most humble postures, how desirous they were to mollify and make them their friends.

The *Dutch* affected by their submissions, did them no farther harm, and being willing to make up all differences between them, made them a present of a painted cloth sixty yards long, and also gave them a considerable quantity of coral, beads, and small looking-glasses, with which they were much pleased. Being now convinced that the *Dutch* intended to treat them like friends, they brought them at once 500 live fowls, which exactly resembled the barn-door fowls of *Europe*, with a great quantity of red and white roots, and potatoes, some hundreds of sugar canes, and a large quantity of pisans, a sort of *Indian* figs, as big as a gourd, covered with a green rind ; the pulp is as sweet as honey, and there sometimes grow an hundred of these figs upon a single bough. It is remarkable, that the leaves
of

of this tree are six or eight feet long, and about three broad.

The *Dutch* saw no other animals in this island, but birds, which were of various sorts. However they thought it probable, that there might be cattle and other beasts in the heart of the country; because on their shewing the *Indians* some hogs on board their ships, they informed them by signs, that they had seen such animals before.

It appeared to the *Dutch*, that every family or tribe had its separate village, composed of cabbins; some of which were 40, and others near 60 feet long, and six or eight broad, formed of a certain number of poles stuck upright, with the spaces between them filled with a kind of clay, and covered on the top with palm leaves. They had all little plantations staked out, and very neatly divided. At this time, almost all their fruits and plants, herbs and roots, were in full perfection, and every where appeared an air of plenty. In their houses, however, they had not many moveables, and those they had were of no great value. They had earthen pots, in which they dressed their meat, and a red and white kind of stuff, that served them when walking for clothes, and when sleeping for quilts. This stuff was as soft to the touch as silk, and was in all appearance of their own manufacture.

These Islanders were in general a slender, well made, brisk, and active people: they were very swift of foot, and of a sweet and agreeable disposition, but extremely timorous;
for

124 Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE

for whenever they brought the *Dutch* either fowls or other provisions, they hastily threw themselves on their knees, and as soon as they had delivered them, retired as fast as their legs could carry them. They were generally of as brown a complexion as the *Spaniards*. There were, however, some among them almost black, others were white, and others perfectly red. Their bodies were painted over with the figures of birds and other animals, and all their women in general had an artificial bloom upon their cheeks of a crimson, far surpassing any thing known in *Europe*; nor could the *Dutch* discover of what this colour was composed. On their heads they wore a little hat, made of reeds or straw, and they had no other covering except that already mentioned. The women, however, appeared to have no great share of modesty, for they beckoned the *Dutch* into their houses, and when they sat down by them, would throw off their mantles.

It is very remarkable, that these Islanders did not seem to have any arms among them; but whenever they were attacked, they fled for shelter and assistance to their idols, which were all of stone, of the figure of a man with great ears, and the head covered with a crown, the whole very nicely proportioned, and so highly finished, that the *Dutch* stood amazed. Round these idols were palisadoes of white stone, at the distance of 20 or 30 yards.

The



*A Man and Woman of the Island
of P. ASCH. -*

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The *Dutch* could not distinguish among these people any appearance of government or subordination, much less any Prince, or Chief, who had dominion over the rest; but on the contrary, all seemed to speak and act with equal freedom. However, the old people wore on their heads feathered bonnets, and were obeyed with the greatest readiness.

One evening they had been on shore, and the Commodore, on the report of his officers, was determined to land the next morning with a force sufficient to make a strict examination of the whole island; but before it was light a west wind drove them from both their anchors, so that they were obliged to put to sea to avoid being wrecked. After this misfortune, they cruized some time in the same latitude, and then steering to the westward, arrived at the island discovered by *Schouten*, to which he gave the name of *Badwater*, from all its springs being brackish. The *Dutch* then sailed upwards of 800 leagues without seeing land, till arriving in $15^{\circ}.30$ south latitude, there appeared a low island, the coast of which was covered with a very yellow sand, and in the middle of it was a lake; it was in the latitude of $15^{\circ}.45$. south, and they gave it the name of *Carlshoff*, or *Charles's coast*.

On their leaving the island, the wind began to turn to the south-west, which was a sign of their being near some coast that altered the current of the air, and this sudden change driving their ships in the night among some small islands, they found themselves not a little em-

barrasted. The *African* galley being the best sailer, and drawing the least water, then led the squadron; but notwithstanding all the care of her crew, she was soon in such danger, that she began to fire gun after gun, as signals of distress. The *Tienhoven*, which was the farthest from her, plyed towards her with the utmost diligence, as did the Commodore, who suddenly found himself a long-side of her, at which the ship's company were much alarmed; but upon heaving the lead, and finding no bottom, they grew tolerably easy, and thought of nothing but saving their friends, in order to which the shallop was sent out; when it appeared that the *African* galley was stuck fast between two rocks, and it being impossible to get her off, all they could do was to save the people on board, and in this they succeeded. The Islanders roused by the prodigious noise occasioned by this accident, kindled many fires upon the hills, and came down in crowds to the coast, when the *Dutch* not knowing their design, and considering the opportunities which the darkness of the night, and their own confusion might give to any who should think fit to attack them, had the cruelty to fire upon them, without the least ceremony.

In the morning, as soon as it was light, they had a prospect of the danger all the ships were in the evening before; for they found themselves surrounded on all sides by four large islands, with a continual chain of steep rocks so close to each other, that they could hardly discern the channel by which they had entered.

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The danger was not entirely over as soon as discovered, since it cost Mr. *Roggewein* no less than five days in extricating himself out of this unfortunate situation.

Upon mustering the crew of the *African* galley, after their being brought on board the Commodore, it appeared that the quarter-master and four seamen were missing, and upon enquiry it was found that these men made it their choice to stay in the island, where they had landed: for having quarrelled among themselves at this critical conjuncture, Captain *Rosenthal* interposed to prevent their killing each other with their knives, and threatened them with death whenever he got them on board. Mr. *Roggewein*, however, was unwilling they should be lost, and therefore sent our Author, with a detachment of marines, to bring them away; but the deserters seeing the shallop as it approached the shore, fired from a wood so briskly, that they did not dare to land near it; but rowing to an open place, they went on shore, and marching towards the wood where the deserters were concealed, called to them without firing, assuring them that they had nothing to fear, since the Commodore had promised them indemnity, and that they might safely depend upon his word; but the deserters guilt making them deaf to all intreaties, our Author very wisely chose to leave them where they were, rather than hazard his own life and those of the people under his command, in attempting to reduce men who seemed to be entirely desperate.

These islands are seated in between 15 and 16° of south latitude, at the distance of 12 leagues west from that of *Carlsboff*, each of them being four or five leagues in compass. That in which the *African* galley was shipwrecked, they called the *Mischievous* island. The two next to it *The Brothers*, and the fourth island *The Sister*. All these islands were covered with a verdure inexpressibly charming, and abounded with fine tall trees, particularly cocoas. The herbs that grow there were found so refreshing and medicinal, that the ship's crew, many of whom were ill of the scurvy, were surprisingly recovered by them. The men found prodigious plenty of muscles, cockles, and pearl oylters. These islands are, however, extremely low, so that some parts of them must be frequently overflowed; but the inhabitants are well provided against such accidents, since they have not only good canvas, but stout barks, with cables and sails; and the *Dutch* found upon the shore, pieces of ropes that seemed to be made of hemp.

The inhabitants of the island, upon which the *African* galley was lost, were of an extraordinary size. Their bodies were painted of various colours, and most of them had fine long black hair; but some of them had brown, inclining a little to red. They were armed with pikes or lances 18 or 20 feet long, and had nothing soft or agreeable in their countenances, but had an air of fierceness and resentment. They marched in small bodies of 50 or 100, and made signs to the *Dutch* to come to them;
but

but no sooner saw them advancing, than they retired across the island, probably to draw them into an ambuscade, that might give them an opportunity of revenging the loss they had sustained by their unjustly firing upon them.



C H A P. III.

They discover several other Islands, in one of which they land by Force, trade with the Inhabitants, and procure Refreshments; but being suddenly attacked, make a great Slaughter among the Natives, and with Difficulty reach their Ships. This Island with its Inhabitants described. They at length resolve to sail to the East Indies.

AS the Commodore saw that there was no doing any good with the inhabitants, and that the coasts of all the islands were excessively foul and rocky, he was resolved to leave them, in order to seek some other country where he might, with less hazard, meet with some refreshments, of which all on board stood in great need, from the scurvy prevailing among them; but the very next morning, after they weighed from *Mischievous* island, they saw, at the distance of 8 leagues to the west, another island, which they called *Aurora*, from its being discerned by those on board the Commodore's vessel just at day-break, when the *Tienhoven* was so near it, that if the sun had risen half an hour later, she must have been dashed to pieces, as she was not above a cannon-shot from the rocky shore

when the danger was perceived. The Commodore immediately made the signal to tack, which was done with great difficulty, but the fright, into which this put the mariners, soon after produced a mutiny, wherein the seamen insisted that the Commodore should immediately return, or at least give them security to pay them their wages, even though they should be so unfortunate as to lose the vessel. This demand was, indeed, very reasonable, they being every day exposed to the most excessive fatigues in those unknown seas, and at the same time ran the hazard of losing in a moment all the reward they were to expect from their labours, since it is the custom of *Holland*, for the seamen to lose their wages whenever the ship is lost. The Commodore listened to their complaints with the humanity worthy a man of honour, and immediately took an oath, that whatever happened to the ships, they should receive their wages to the last farthing, and he afterwards made good his promise.

The island of *Aurora* is about four leagues in extent: the country is covered with a delightful verdure, and adorned both with high trees, and smaller wood: but as they found all the coast foul and rocky, they left this island too without landing, after having taken only a distant view of it.

Towards evening they had sight of another island, which for that reason, they called *Vesper*. It was about 12 leagues in circuit, the ground very low, and covered with fine grass, and stored with great plenty of various sorts of trees. They

They still continued their course, steering west in about 15°. south latitude, and the next morning discovered another country, which being covered with smoke, they concluded was inhabited, and therefore, made all the sail they could to it, in hope of meeting with some refreshments, and on their nearer approach saw some of the inhabitants diverting themselves on the coast in their canoes. They also by degrees perceived, that what they had taken for one country, was in reality abundance of islands crowded together, among which they had entered so far, that they found it difficult to extricate themselves. In this situation they sent a man to the top-mast-head to discover a passage out, and the weather being perfectly serene, they had the good fortune to get again into the open sea without any accident. There were six of these islands, all of which appeared extremely beautiful and pleasant, and when taken together they could not be less than 30 leagues in circumference. They were situated 25 leagues from *Mischievous* island. The *Dutch* gave them the name of the *Labyrinth*, from their being obliged to tack several times to get clear of them. As it was very dangerous anchoring on the coast, and as none of the inhabitants came to meet them in their canoes, or on the shore, they did not think fit to make any stay.

The Commodore still continuing a west course, in a few days discovered another island at a great distance, which appeared very high, and extremely beautiful, but on a nearer approach

proach, they found no ground for anchorage, and the coast appeared so rocky, that they were afraid to venture any closer, they therefore manned each of their shallops with 25 men, in order to make a descent. The inhabitants no sooner perceived their design, than they came down in crowds to the coast in order to oppose their landing, armed with long pikes. On approaching the island, the *Dutch* found the shore so steep and full of rocks that it was impossible to proceed; upon which the best part of the sailors threw themselves into the sea, with their arms in their hands, and some bawbles fit for presents, tied upon their heads, while the rest kept a constant fire from the boats, in order to clear the shore, and facilitate their landing. This expedient succeeded to their wish, and the seamen got on shore without any considerable resistance from the inhabitants, who being frightened by the discharge of the fire arms, quitted the coast, and retired up the mountains, but came down again as soon as the *Dutch* ceased firing. Those who landed advanced in sight of the Islanders, and shewed them looking-glasses, strings of coral, and other toys. The people came up to them without the least fear, took their presents, and suffered them to search wherever they pleased for herbs and sallading for the sick, of which they found such plenty, that in a very short time they filled twelve large sacks, six for the Commodore, and six for the *Tienhoven*; for when the people once saw what they were about, they not only shewed them the best

sorts,

sorts, but assisted in gathering them. They observed here prodigious quantities of jessamine in full flower. They carried their cargo of greens immediately on board, which were much more acceptable to the sick, who were languishing under the want of refreshments, than if they had brought them so much gold or silver.

The next morning a larger body of men were ordered on shore, as well to gather herbs as to try to make farther discoveries. The first thing they did was to make a present to the King or Chief, of a considerable quantity of all sorts of trinkets, which he received indeed, but it was with such an air of indifference and disdain, as did not seem to promise any great good with respect to their future commerce. However, in exchange, he sent the *Dutch* a considerable quantity of cocoanuts, which were very agreeable to them in their present circumstances. This Prince was distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants, by his wearing various ornaments formed of pearls, of the value of about 600 *Dutch* florins. The women seemed greatly to admire the white men, and almost stifled them with caresses: but this soon appeared to be a false shew of love to lull the *Dutch* into security, that a plot laid by the men might succeed more successfully: for when the *Dutch* had filled 20 sacks with greens, they advanced farther into the country, till they came to some steep rocks, which hung over a large and deep valley, while the Islanders went before and behind them without giving

134 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE*

giving the least suspicion: but no sooner did they think they had them at the advantage, than suddenly quitting them, thousands came pouring out from the caves and holes in the rocks. Upon which the sailors immediately formed themselves, and stood upon their defence. The Chief or Prince then made a signal for the *Dutch* to keep off; but they continued still to advance in a line, till they were assaulted by a prodigious shower of stones. In return, the *Dutch* made a general discharge of their fire arms, which did great execution, and among the first who fell was the Chief. The natives were however so far from flying, that they continued throwing stones with greater fury than before, so that most of the *Dutch* were soon wounded, and in a manner disabled. This obliged them to retire behind a rock, from whence they fired with such success, that great numbers of the Islanders were killed, notwithstanding which, they boldly maintained their ground, and forced the *Dutch* to retreat to their ships, after having killed some and wounded many others; they however carried the sacks of herbs they had gathered on board their ships; where the men were so intimidated with the account they gave of the resolution and intrepidity of the natives, that when a motion was made for landing again, there was not one person on board who would be of the party.

To this island they had, before this unhappy event, given the name of the island of *Recreation*, on account of the herbs and sallading they

they found in it. It is situated in 16°. south latitude, and in the longitude of 285°. This fertile island is about 12 leagues in extent, and produces great quantities of trees, particularly palms, cocoa, and iron wood, and the *Dutch* thought they had reason to believe that in the heart of the country there were rich mines. The inhabitants were of a middle size, robust, active, and seemed to be well exercised in their sort of discipline; their hair was long, black, and shining, which was principally owing to their anointing it with the oil of cocoas, and they were painted all over like the natives of the island of *Patch*. The men wore round their waists a kind of net-work, which was drawn between their legs and tucked up behind; the women had strings of pearl about their necks and wrists, and were intirely covered with a kind of mantle of their own manufacture, which to the sight and touch had a near resemblance to silk.

As the anchorage was every where bad, and the rocky shore so excessively deep, as not to permit a view of the inner part of the country the Commodore thought fit to sail without farther loss of time. But before his departure, he held a council, in which he communicated the contents of his instructions; which were, that if in the longitude and latitude they were now in they could make no important discovery, they should return home. Some of the council being much astonished at this order, could not forbear telling the Commodore, that as they had advanced so far, and met with
such

such great encouragement, it would betray want of spirit, if they did not proceed. To which, he answered, that they had been already out ten months, that they had still a long voyage to make to the *East Indies*, and that provisions began to grow very short, and that their crews were so much diminished, and those who survived were so weak, that if twenty more should die or fall sick they should want hands to navigate both the ships. But those who had the good of the voyage only at heart, insisted peremptorily on its being wrong to think of returning by the *East Indies*, since it was contrary to the sense of the instructions; that by continuing the first course, they must necessarily fall in with some island or other where they might land, take in refreshments, and stay till their sick men recovered. That in this case they ought first of all to erect a fort for their own security against the natives, in the next to treat all those people with all imaginable gentleness and candour, by which means they would infallibly engage them to trade, and converse, with them, which would enable them to learn the language, and carry home a clear, distinct, and full account of the country in which they had lived; and that if this proposal was complied with, they should always have it in their power to return home, by steering an east course, and by taking time, perfect the discoveries they were sent to make; but some of the principal officers having a great desire to go to the *East Indies*, these arguments had not the weight they deserved;

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it was resolved to continue their voyage to *New Britain*, and thence by the way of *Molucco* to the *East Indies*, where they were in hopes of procuring, not only a supply of provisions and other necessaries, but of seamen also, in case they should be in so weak a condition, as not to be able to navigate their ships back to *Europe*.



C H A P. IV.

They continue their Voyage to the Coast of New Britain and New Guinea. Five beautiful Islands described. They make a Descent on New Britain, but are soon obliged to re-embark. A Description of the Islands of Moa and Arimoa. They discover a Multitude of Isles, to which they give the Name of the Thousand Islands. The Bird of Paradise described. They proceed to Japara, and from thence sail to Batavia, where their Vessels are seized, and the Men made Prisoners.

ON their quitting the island of *Recreation*, they steered a north-west course in order to reach *New Britain*, and three days after discovered in the latitude of 12° . south, and in the longitude of 290 , several islands, which at a distance appeared very beautiful, and on their approaching them, they plainly discovered that they were well planted with fruit trees. That the country produced roots, herbs,

and corn in great plenty, and was laid out in large and regular plantations towards the coast. The inhabitants no sooner observed the ships, than they came in their boats, bringing fish, cocoa-nuts, *Indian* figs, and other refreshments; in return for which, the *Dutch* gave them as usual, small looking-glasses, strings of beads, and other trifles.

It soon appeared that these islands were fully peopled, since many thousands of men and women, the former of whom were generally speaking armed with bows and arrows, came down to the shore to look at them. Among the rest they observed a very majestick personage, who, from his dress, and the honours that were paid him, they easily discovered to be the Prince or Sovereign of the nation. He presently stepped into his canoe with an agreeable young woman who sat by his side, upon which his canoe was immediately surrounded by a vast number of other vessels that crowded about it, and seemed intended for a guard. All the inhabitants of these islands, were of the same complexion as the *Europeans*, except their being a little sun-burnt. They appeared to be a harmless good sort of people, and very brisk and likely; for they treated each other with visible marks of civility, and had nothing in their behaviour that was wild or savage. Their bodies were not painted like those of other *Indians* the *Dutch* had seen; but were cloathed from the girdle downwards, with a kind of silk fringes very neatly folded. On their heads they wore hats made of a very neat sort of stuff,

stuff, and extremely large, to keep off the sun, and about their necks they wore collars of very beautiful and odoriferous flowers.

The country appeared exquisitely charming, every one of these islands being finely diversified with hills and valleys, and affording the most delightful landships. Some of them were 10, some 15, and others about 20 miles in compass. The *Dutch* thought fit to call them *Bowman's* islands, after the Captain of the *Tienhoven* who first discovered them.

Many of the *Dutch* were extremely desirous of making a longer stay in so plentiful a country, and among such a civilized people, as it was morally certain, that by the help of the abundance of wholesome provisions with which the natives willingly furnished them, all their sick would in a month's time have perfectly recovered. These islands had besides one convenience superior to those they had before met with, as there was exceeding good anchorage along their coasts, where the *Dutch* rode in safely in 15 or 20 fathoms water. So many advantageous circumstances ought certainly to have prevailed on the Commodore and his officers to have remained there; but their heads were so full of an *East India* voyage, and they were so extremely fearful of missing the easterly monsoon, that they could not be brought to listen to the proposal.

Weighing from *Bowman's* islands, they continued their course to the north-west, and the next morning observed two islands, which they took to be the island of *Cocoas* and *Traitors*

island, so called by *Schouten*, by whom they were discovered. They soon after saw two other islands of very large extent, one of which they called *Tienhoven*, and the other *Groningen*; which last many of the officers were of opinion was no island, but the great south continent they were sent to discover. As for the island of *Tienhoven*, it appeared to be a rich and beautiful country, moderately high, the meadows exceedingly green, and within land adorned with trees. They coasted along the shore for a whole day without coming to the end of it; but observed, that it extended in the form of a semicircle towards the island of *Groningen*; whence our Author observes, that it is very probable these two countries, which were at first taken for islands, may in reality be lands contiguous to each other, and both of them parts of the *Terra Australis Incognita*.

Great part of the company were for anchoring on the coast and making a descent; but the officers, who were so fond of going to the *East Indies*, suggested, that it would at this time be attended with great danger, since if the party that landed was cut off, they should not have men sufficient to carry the ships home. The rest were therefore obliged to continue their course, notwithstanding its being disagreeable to the majority of the people. It was not now doubted, but that they should soon see the coast of *New Guinea* or of *New Britain*, but they sailed many days without perceiving land at all, which was attended with the most dreadful effects; for the scurvy spread
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so fast, that it began to carry off four or five of their best hands every day; so that though they had already reduced three ships companies to two, they more than once deliberated, whether they ought not at present to burn one of the remaining vessels, and the only argument that restrained them from doing it, was, that in case any accident befel one, there was still a possibility left of escaping in the other. There was nothing to be seen on board, but sick people struggling with inexpressible pains, and dead carcasses that were just relieved from them; whence arose so intolerable a stench, that such as yet remained sound were not able to endure it. Cries and groans were perpetually ringing in their ears, and the very sight of those who were able to move about, was sufficient to excite at once terror and compassion; for some of them were such perfect skeletons that their skin seemed to cleave to their bones, in which sad circumstances they had this consolation that they felt no pain, but gradually consumed away. Others again were swelled and puffed up to a monstrous size, and were tormented with such violent pains, as frequently rendered them delirious. Others were worn away by the dysentery; while many suffered the most excruciating tortures from the rheumatism, and others dragged their dead limbs after them, their feeling having been taken away by the palsy, while others again were carried off so suddenly, that in the midst of their discourse, they stopped short, and were found

to be dead. Even such as were reputed in health, were low and weak, and our Author says, that though he was as well as any body on board, yet he had the scurvy to such a degree, that his teeth were all loose, his gums inflamed, and his body covered with spots of different colours. Added to this distress, their salt meats were corrupted, their bread was full of maggots, and their water stunk to an intolerable degree.

While they were in this deplorable situation, they discovered land, which proved to be *New Britain*. This, as well as the neighbouring islands, is very high; many of the mountains hiding themselves in the clouds; but the sea coasts are equally fertile and pleasant; the meadows wearing a perpetual verdure, and the hills being covered with various sorts of fruit-trees. It lies in between four and seven degrees south latitude. The *Dutch*, after some consultation, resolved at all events to go on shore, though there were certainly some very strong arguments against it, as they could scarcely spare out of both ships, men enough to man a boat, and leave a sufficient number to navigate one ship, supposing that they should consent to give up all hopes of carrying home the other. But the passions of the ships companies were so strong for going on land, and their necessities so great, that it appeared absolutely necessary to venture a descent, let the consequences of it be what they would.

Accordingly our Author was ordered into the shallop with a certain number of men, carrying

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rying a great quantity of trifles by way of present. The nearer they drew to the coast, the more they were pleased with it, as it gave them a view of all the refreshments they could wish for. The natives at the same time came down in crowds; but in a manner that did not at all add to their satisfaction; for they were well armed with bows, arrows, and slings, and sufficiently shewed by their gestures, that they were not at all pleased with the sight of these strangers, and were resolved not to let them land peaceably. As the shallop drew nearer shore, the inhabitants seemed as if sensible of some approaching ruin, and as if they had borrowed courage from the quick sense of some supposed distress, hurried off in their canoes in order to meet the danger which they saw was unavoidable. Mean while the *Dutch* continued to make the best of their way towards the land, which when the *Indians* saw, they discharged a flight of arrows, which was followed by the javelins they had in their hands, and this was succeeded by a prodigious number of stones, discharged from their slings. The *Dutch* being thus convinced, that they had nothing to trust to but force, fired upon them without ceasing, which had such an effect, that many of the natives were killed, and the rest terrified to such a degree, that numbers of them threw themselves out of their canoes into the water, and the rest were at last obliged to follow their example: For such was their confusion, that they were no longer able to distinguish the proper channels, by which they might have safely
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returned with their canoes, but run them on the rocks and shoals, that lay before the coast. This took from the *Dutch* almost all hopes of following them; but while they were thus embarrassed, there suddenly arose a most violent storm; this forced the ships out to sea, and left the poor men in the shallop without relief, and almost without hope. Suddenly running on a bank of sand, they were beaten with such violence by the winds and waves, that there seemed to be no means of safety left; but as despair usually gives men strength and spirits, they had the good fortune to drag their vessel safe to land, and all of them got on shore, tho' dreadfully fatigued.

The first thing they did was endeavouring to find out a place of retreat, where they might be safe from any sudden attack of their enemies; but before such a place could be found, the night drew on, and they were forced to content themselves with getting as many pieces of wood and broken branches of trees as possible, in order to dry and warm themselves. Having by this means made a pretty good fire, their spirits began to revive, and they resolved to proceed to several cabbins and huts in the neighbourhood of the place, where they had taken up their abode; but they found them deserted, and without any utensils or household goods, there being nothing of any value, except a few nets curiously made, and though about those huts they found abundance of cocoa-trees, yet, as they had brought no hatchets, they were unable to come at any of the fruit.

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In short they had a very comfortable night, being perpetually disturbed by the frightful noise made by the inhabitants in the woods, whence they naturally apprehended they were every moment coming to attack them. But a little after midnight they heard the signal from the ships, and hastily running to the boat got on board.

From these events, the *Dutch* called this part of the country *Storm Land*. The inhabitants are tall, and well made; are very tawney, and have long black hair, that curls down to their waists; they are extremely vigorous and nimble, and so dexterous in the use of their arms, that they probably live in a perpetual state of war.

The *Dutch*, upon their leaving this island, resolved to land upon the next they came to; for their stock-fish, upon which they had lived for some time past, now stunk to such a degree, that instead of eating it, they could not come near it, and the officers could no longer pacify the men with stories of the *East-Indies*; for they absolutely declared, that any death on shore would be preferable to their lingering at sea in such a condition. While in this situation they arrived in 2°. south latitude, and soon descrying the islands of *Moa* and *Grimeo*, discovered by *Schouten*, they resolved to attempt getting some relief from the latter, which is the largest of these two islands.

The inhabitants no sooner saw them approach, than they came out to meet them in their canoes, of which they had a prodigious number.

number. These people, and even their women and children, were armed with bows and arrows. They however brought with them cocoa-nuts, *Indian* figs, various kinds of roots, and other refreshments, rowing directly up to the ships, without the least sign or fear of distrust. The *Dutch* offered them such trifles as they had on board, by way of present, which they received kindly: But when they shewed them more of these, and made them understand that they intended to barter these kinds of merchandize for refreshments, they contented themselves with turning them over, and looking at them, without expressing any intention to deal. They returned however the next day with great quantities of the same things they had brought before, when the *Dutch* endeavoured to persuade them to bring some hogs on board; but as they conversed only by signs, these people mistook them so far as to bring them the following day two or three dogs, which proved an inexpressible disappointment.

The refreshments procured from this island had so good an effect, that our Author soon found himself much better, and asserts, that if he could have had the liberty of staying on shore only for a few days, he should have been perfectly recovered. The Islanders did all in their power to persuade them to take this step, and never came on board without inviting them to land; but as they were extremely weakened, and had for some days before their arrival, regularly thrown overboard four or

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five of their people a day, it was thought too great a hazard, as the island was extremely populous, and as amidst all the civilities of these people, there was something in their air, look, and language, which the *Dutch* fancied favoured of perfidy.

From several observations, it was soon conjectured, that the inhabitants of this island were at war with their neighbours of the island of *Moa*, and this furnished them with a new scheme, for speedily obtaining a considerable stock of provisions. The *Dutch* were satisfied that the island of *Moa*, though as pleasant and fertile as the other, was but thinly peopled; this engaged them to attempt, by a sudden descent upon that island, to carry off at once, what might enable them to prosecute their voyage without danger of falling into the distresses they had so lately endured. This project was bold in itself, and required great prudence in conducting it. It was therefore thought expedient to land in different places, and then join as soon as possible. This scheme was carried into execution as happily as they could wish; for though as soon as they began to fell the cocoa-trees, the natives who lay in ambuscade behind the bushes discharged a shower of arrows at them, yet they were so fortunate as to escape unhurt; whereas the discharge of their small arms laid abundance of the natives dead on the ground, which so frightened the rest, that they immediately took shelter in their canoes, and afterwards endeavoured in vain, by their cries and shouts, to
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bring the rest of their countrymen to their assistance. However, as they remained quiet, the *Dutch* had time to bring away 800 cocoanuts, with which they returned safe on board their shallops, and soon after rejoined their ships, very well satisfied with their expedition. They also found in this island vast plenty of pomegranates of a most excellent taste, as well as pisans or *Indian* figs : And these refreshments were of prodigious service ; for our Author declares, that without them the whole of both ships companies must have infallibly perished.

They now began to make the necessary preparations for continuing their voyage, when the Islanders from *Moa* came off with about 200 canoes, all laden with provisions of different kinds, which they exchanged for various sorts of merchandize. This the *Dutch* understood as intended merely to prevent a second descent, and therefore they received them kindly, and readily purchased their cargo.

The exchange was no sooner over, than they weighed anchor, and parted with these people on pretty good terms. They now continued their voyage through a sea so very full of islands, that finding it difficult to count them, they gave them the general name of the *Thousand Islands*. They were inhabited by people of a very swarthy complexion, who were short and squat, and had their heads covered with a thick, curling, woolly hair. Both the men, women, and children, went generally naked, except having a kind of belt two fingers broad composed of teeth, and bracelets of the same.

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Some of them also wore on their heads light straw hats, adorned with the feathers of the birds of Paradise, which are said to be found no where but in these islands: there are indeed some that go under the same name on the coast of *Africa*; but they differ very much from these in their plumage. Whenever the inhabitants of these islands go to *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, or any of the *Moluccos*, in order to expose to sale their merchandize, as salt pork, amber, and gold dust, they also carry with them some of these birds. They constantly sell them dead, affirming that they always find them so, and that they are absolutely ignorant whence they come, or where they breed. Thus much is certain, that this bird is always seen very high in the air: it is extremely light, as it chiefly consists of feathers, which are excessively beautiful, and render it one of the greatest curiosities in the world. The plumage of its head is as bright as gold; that of its neck resembles a drake's; and that of its tail and wings is very like a peacock's. As to the rest, in its beak and form it comes nearest to a swallow, except its being larger. Such as deal in them would persuade strangers that they have no feet, and that when they sleep, they hang themselves by their feathers to the branch of a tree: but the truth of the matter is, that to render their birds more wonderful, these traders cut off the legs, and do it so close to the body, that when the flesh begins to dry, the skin and the feathers unite so perfectly, that it is almost impossible to perceive the least scar. They

also assert, that these birds are continually flying, and that they live by the flies and insects they catch in the air. The feathers of the male are brighter and more beautiful than those of the female. In the *Eastern* languages this bird is generally called *Mancodiata*, or *the Bird of God*. Many of them are sent to *Batavia*, where they are generally sold for three crowns a piece. The *Moors*, *Arabians*, and *Persians*, esteem them highly. They make use of their feathers to adorn their saddles, and the furniture of their horses; and to heighten their lustre, intermingle them with pearls and diamonds. They also wear them in their turbans, more particularly when they go to war, from a superstitious notion of their rendering them invulnerable.

As to the neighbouring continent of *New Guinea*, it appeared a very high country, extremely full of plants and trees, so that in sailing 400 leagues along the coast, they did not observe one barren spot; and our Author thinks it highly probable, that it abounds with many valuable commodities, as rich metals and spices.

The officers of the *Dutch* squadron were at this time in doubt, whether they should follow *Dampier's* course, or pass by the islands of *Ternate*, *Tylore*, and *Bacian*, as the less dangerous passage. They however chose the first. Each of these three islands is governed by its respective Monarch: and it is remarkable, that the *Dutch East India* company allow these Princes a kind of annual tribute, on condition

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of their grubbing up by the roots all the spice-trees that grow in their dominions. The rest of the Kings of the *Moluccos*, to the number of 100, are all dependent upon these three Princes.

They steered their course along the shore of *New Guinea*, by an innumerable chain of small islands, extending between the west point and the island of *Gilolo*. This passage they made with the utmost hazard, and saw with joy the island of *Bouro*, which is in the latitude of 2° . south, and is the most western place of any in which the *Dutch East India* company maintain a factory. This island is for the most part pretty high land, and every where abounds with trees and shrubs of various kinds. As soon as they arrived upon the coast, they were spoken with by a small vessel, on board of which were two white men and several negroes, who enquired particularly to whom they belonged, from whence they came, and whither they were going; to which they answered, that they came from the coast of *New Guinea*, and were bound for *Batavia*; but very wisely concealed their belonging to the *West India* company, because they knew that the *East India* company permitted no vessels but their own to sail upon that coast, and had given orders for attacking any strange vessels that should appear there. The inhabitants of this island told them, that formerly abundance of clove-trees grew in their country, but that a detachment of soldiers in the service of the company came every year and grubbed them up, when the natives re-

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ceived a present; and that this was done because the company thought *Amboina* produced sufficient for maintaining their commerce. This island of *Bouro* is about 40 or 50 leagues in circumference, and the *Dutch* were formerly in a great measure masters of it, but were dispossessed by the natives, since which time the company content themselves with grubbing up the clove-trees.

They now continued their course by the neighbouring islands, in order to reach the coast of *Buton*, in hopes of meeting there with those refreshments that seemed absolutely necessary for their preservation. In a short time they arrived in the height of 4°. south latitude, and sailed for a long day along the coasts of that island, without perceiving any sign of the port for which they sought, and at last found that they were eight leagues past it, which our Author attributes to the management of the principal officers, who were in such a hurry to get to the *East Indies*, that they paid very little regard to the inexpressible miseries, to which, by their treacherous conduct, the poor men were exposed. To conceal this however as much as possible, they pretended to attempt bearing up for that port, though they knew it to be absolutely impracticable, considering the force with which the monsoon blew. There were now no further hopes of finding any place of refreshment short of the island of *Java*; for wherever they attempted to anchor, they well knew their ships would be confiscated, in consequence of maxims inviolably observed by the

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the *East India* company. All the men therefore on board both ships, but especially the sick and feeble, cast a languishing look on that fertile country they left behind them, while their minds presaged the melancholy effects that must necessarily attend a measure so pernicious.

The situation of the island of *Buton* is remarkably advantageous. It extends from the 4th to the 6th degree of south latitude, and is nearly equal in compass to that of *Bouro*. It is extremely fertile in rice; it enjoys an extraordinary plenty of cattle and fish, and would produce a great number both of clove and nutmeg trees, if they were permitted to grow. The King has a very strong fort, on which the *Dutch* standard is displayed, though there is no *Dutch* garrison, nor any need of one. The *Dutch* company content themselves with sending thither every year certain deputies to see the spice-trees destroyed, and in consideration of his submitting to this, the company pay the King a considerable sum in ready money. This nation is, of all others, the most faithful to the *East India* company, it having not only assisted them in expelling the *Portuguese*, but also against the inhabitants of the *Moluccos*, whenever they have attempted to take up arms against them; and by this means have rendered that company intirely mistress of the trade of that part of the world: in consequence of which, the inhabitants of *Buton* enjoy several privileges peculiar to themselves.

The *Dutch* Commodore having left the coast of *Buton*, and passed through the channel of

154 *Commodore* ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE

the *Moluccos*, arrived on the coast of *Java*, and immediately anchored with his two ships in the road of *Japara*, towards the close of the month of *September*, 1722. The first step the *Commodore* and his officers took, was to pay a visit to the person who resided there on the part of the company, in order to acquaint him with their reasons for coming thither. This gentleman was an *Ensign*, named *Kuster*, a very civil, well-bred person, who instantly assembled a council to consider what measures were to be taken upon this occasion. They were all extremely moved at the *Commodore's* recital of the misfortunes he and his men had met with, and expressed great pity for him, his officers, and ships companies, who indeed appeared worthy of compassion. They had lost no less than 70 men, exclusive of those killed in the several engagements with the *Indians*. Twenty-six of the survivors were extremely ill, and there were no more than ten persons left in tolerable health. As soon as they had notified their arrival, their next care was to get their sick men on shore, which was performed with all the tenderness imaginable, by slinging them in their hammocks into the shallops. There were however four among them in so very low a condition, that it was not thought proper to move them; but the very thoughts of their being left after their companions were on shore killed them. Such as were landed, were lodged in an island under tents set up for that purpose, where they had every necessary afforded them that the country produced, and yet

yet after all the care that could be taken, many of them died soon after their being set on shore.

Mr. *Kußer* did not fail to send an account of their arrival to the Commandant of the coasts of *Java*, who instantly transmitted it to Mr. *Swaardekoon*, who was at that time Governor General of the *East Indies*. The answer he gave was extremely favourable; he promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, adding, that they had nothing to do but to get to *Batavia* as soon as they could. While they waited for the General's answer, and the recovery of the sick, they passed their time very agreeably; for their countrymen being sensible of the miseries they had endured, used every means to make them forget them; which very soon had its effect, and in a few days the seamen became as frolicksome and gay, as if they had made the most pleasant and fortunate voyage in the world. Our Author adds, that he was soon extremely shocked at seeing those, who, but a few days before, were weeping, sighing, praying, and making the warmest protestations of their leading new and regular lives, if God would be pleased to save them, running headlong into the greatest extravagancies, swearing, drinking, and passing whole days and nights in houses of lewdness and debauchery. To this they were prompted by the bad example of those among whom they lived, the lower sort of people at *Japara* being as lewd and profligate as possible.

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156 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE*

After refreshing themselves at *Japura* for about a month, they began to think of continuing their voyage to *Batavia*, in order to reap the fruits of the Governor General's promises. When all things were ready, they spent about two days in taking leave of their friends, who gave them all sorts of provisions, and much more of every kind than was necessary for so short a voyage. At last they quitted, not without a sensible regret, a place where they had been so kindly entertained, where all their wants had been so generously relieved, and where after so many hardships and sufferings they had spent a few weeks in peace and plenty.

The town of *Japura* is seated at the bottom of a mountain of a moderate height, and is inhabited chiefly by *Javans*, *Chinese*, and *Dutch*. It was much more considerable in extent when in the hands of the *Portuguese* than it is at present. Before the *Dutch East India* company got possession of *Jacatra*, they fixed here their principal magazine of merchandize, and made this their chief factory, on which all the others in the island of *Java* were dependant. But that establishment has been long sunk by the removal of the factory. The port of *Japura* is equally safe and commodious, and there is a fort built mostly of wood, erected on the top of the mountain, at the foot of which the town is situated. This is called the *Invincible Mountain*; because when the *Portuguese* were masters of the place, the *Javans* were constantly

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The King of *Japara* generally resides at a place called *Kattasura*, situated 29 leagues up the country, where the *Dutch* have a strong fort and a garrison. This Prince is a *Mabometan*, and, according to the practice of most of the *Eastern* monarchs, is constantly served by women, of whom he takes as many as he pleases, either as wives or concubines. Some of his priests are obliged to go every year in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in order to make vows there for the safety and prosperity of the royal family. His subjects are extremely faithful, and devoted to his service. The principal persons of his court are obliged, whenever they have an audience, to approach him creeping on their knees; but this slavish custom is disused in time of war. Those who commit the slightest fault are stabbed on the spot with a little dagger called a *Krid*; and as this is almost the only punishment in use among them, the slightest as well as the greatest faults are capital.

The natives of this country are for the most part of a very brown complexion. They are tolerably well shaped, and have long black hair, which however they often cut. Their noses are flat and broad, and their teeth very black, which is owing to their continually chewing betel and faufel. The betel has been already described*. The faufel is a kind of nut not

* See Dampier's *Voyage round the World*, c. 9.

much unlike, though something smaller than the nutmeg. It is without taste, and yields, when chewed, a beautiful red kind of juice, which the *Indians* make use of in painting their chints. The tree that bears this nut is very strait, and its leaves resemble those of the cocoa-tree.

The prevailing diversion among these people is a kind of farces, in which the women are very richly dressed; but the entertainment chiefly consists in singing and dancing, accompanied by their music, which is not very agreeable, at least to *European* ears. This music only consists of little drums, which they beat dexterously enough. Their dancing is generally of the grotesque kind; they throw their bodies with inexpressible agility into a vast variety of postures, expressing the passions of the mind so comically, that it is almost impossible to avoid laughing. These *Indians* also practise the war-dance, in which the king and his grantees often bear a part. They likewise amuse themselves with cock-fighting, and lay such considerable sums, that they often reduce themselves to beggary.

This country abounds with all the necessities of life: here are horned cattle, hogs, and an amazing quantity of fowls. The only thing that is scarce here is mutton. As to wild creatures, they have buffaloes, stags, tygers, and the rhinoceros. Their land being every where extremely fertile, produces vast quantities of pepper, cinnamon, ginger, cardamums, rice, &c. and of late years they have planted coffee with great success. As to
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fruit trees, such as cocoas, figs, &c. they grow every where; and as they are green throughout the year, and constantly planted in rows along the sides of the rivers, there are here the most beautiful walks in the world. Sugar-canes abound here, and it is said their vines bear grapes seven times a year, but they are fit only for raisins, and not for wine, because the climate ripens them too hastily. The sea and all the rivers produce an infinite variety of the finest kinds of fish, so that it may be safely affirmed, that *Java* is one of the most plentiful and pleasant islands in the world.

The Commodore, on his leaving *Japara*, sailed to the west for about 70 leagues, and then, with as fair a wind as he could wish, entered the road of *Batavia*, where having saluted the fort, he caused both the ships to anchor close to those that were lading for the voyage home. The crew now believed that all their pains were over, and that their ships should speedily sail with those that were homeward bound; but the most flattering hopes are not always the best founded. The Commodore no sooner saw his ships safely anchored, than he went with his Captain into the shallop, intending to go to *Batavia*; but they had scarcely rowed from the ship's side, when they saw the Commandant of *Batavia's* shallop rowing towards them, with the Fiscal on board, and some other members of the council. These gentlemen bid the Commodore go back, which he did without the least hesitation; and by the time that both shallops were within hearing of
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the ship, the Fiscal proclaimed aloud the Governor General's sentence of confiscation. Both the *Dutch* vessels were by this time so blocked up by large ships, that it was impossible for them to escape; and not long after arrived some hundreds of soldiers, who took both the ships and their companies into their custody.

The Commodore, taught by so many, and those too unexpected disasters, began to repent extremely that ever he had proposed returning by the way of the *East Indies*: but it was now too late to be remedied. The discovery had been neglected, and that neglect punished by the unjust sentence of the *East India* company. By this sentence both ships were declared good prizes. The goods on board them were confiscated; and to prevent the trouble of representations and memorials, every thing was exposed to public sale, and disposed of to the best bidder: while the crews of both the ships were divided, and put on board several vessels that were homeward bound.



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C H A P. V.

The Observations made by the Author on the State of Affairs in the East Indies, during the Time of his staying there, particularly the present State of Batavia. An Account of its Inhabitants, and the manner in which the Affairs of the Dutch East India Company are administered. Batavia, and the whole Island of Java more particularly described.

THE city of *Batavia*, in the island of *Java*, lies in 6°. south latitude, and is the capital of all the vast dominions belonging to the *Dutch East India* company, as well as the emporium, where all their merchandize and riches are laid up. The *Dutch* having taken the town of *Jacatra* from the *Portuguese* in 1618, they soon after built in the neighbourhood of the old city, a fort, which they called *Batavia*; but it was scarcely finished when the natives, animated and assisted by the *English*, attacked it several times, but always without success; and the last time blocked it up, till the *Dutch* were succoured by a powerful squadron from *Europe*, under the command of Admiral *Koen*, who immediately raising the siege, the natives were obliged to retire with the utmost precipitation: when the *Dutch*, considering the excellent situation of the fort, resolved to build a town near it; and therefore demolishing *Jacatra*, erected

this famous city, which from the name of the fort they called *Batavia*.

The city is surrounded by a rampart 21 feet thick, covered on the outside with stone, and fortified with 22 bastions. This rampart is surrounded by a ditch about 45 yards broad, and the avenues to the place are defended by several forts, six of which are built of stone, and furnished with excellent brass cannon. Three of these are on the land side, at a small distance from the city, which is farther secured by their suffering no person to go beyond them without a passport.

The river, which retains its ancient name of *Jacatra*, passes through the midst of the town, and forms 15 canals of running water, all faced with free-stone, and adorned with ever-green trees. Over these canals are 56 bridges, besides those without the town. All the streets are perfectly strait; they are, generally speaking, 30 feet broad, and the houses, which are built after the manner of those in *Holland*, are mostly very high. The city is about a league and an half in circumference, but the suburbs contain at least ten times as many houses as the city itself. The walls have five gates, including that of the port, near which is the barrier; this is regularly shut at nine o'clock in the evening, and there is posted at it a strong guard of soldiers night and day. The principal buildings are a very fine town-house; four churches for the use of the Calvinists; a *spinhuis*, or house of correction, in which women who behave loosely are confined.

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A View of the Dutch Government House at Batavia

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fined; an orphan-house; a magazine of sea stores; many other magazines for spices; and other public buildings.

Besides the many forts before-mentioned, there is a citadel, which is a fine regular fortification, situated at the mouth of the river, facing the city; it is flanked with four bastions, two of which command the sea, and the other two the town. This citadel has two great gates, one called the Company's gate; and the other the Water gate; and there are two posterns, one in the east curtain, and the other in the west, which are never opened but for the service of the garrison. All the keepers of the magazines have their lodgings along both sides of the curtain in the citadel, and here the Governor General of the *Indies* has his palace, which has a noble front, built after the *Italian* manner. Opposite to it is the palace of the Director General, who is the next person to the Governor. The Counsellors and other principal officers of the company have also their apartments here, as have likewise the Physician, the Surgeon, and Apothecary. It has a small church remarkably neat and light, and arsenals and magazines, well furnished with ammunition. In a word, this citadel is the general factory, where all the affairs of the company are transacted, and where all the archives are deposited.

The city of *Batavia* is not only inhabited by the *Dutch*, but abundance of *Portuguese*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, established there on account of trade. These *Portuguese* are mostly descendants of

those who formerly lived in other parts of the island of *Jawa*, or at *Goa*, and did not think fit to remove when the coasts of the island were reduced under the dominion of the *Dutch East India* company, and most of them are now of the reformed religion. There are likewise here a vast number of people of different nations, as *Javanese*, *Chinese*, *Malayans*, *Amboinese*, *Armenians*, natives of the isle of *Bali*, *Mardykens*, *Maccassars*, *Timors*, and *Bougis*. There cannot be any thing more entertaining than to behold such a multitude of people of different countries living at their own dwellings after their own way. One sees every moment new customs, strange manners, a variety of habits, and faces of different colours, as white, black, brown, and olive-coloured; every one living as he pleases, and speaking his own language. Yet, notwithstanding such a variety of customs so opposite to each other, there is observable a very surprizing union among the citizens; this is purely the effect of commerce, which is the common soul that actuates this great body.

In order to give a clear idea of the manner in which these people live at *Batavia*, it will be proper to mention some particulars of each nation. The *Javanese* apply themselves chiefly to agriculture, fishing, and ship-building. They scarcely wear any other habit besides a short petticoat which reaches to their knees, all the rest of their bodies being naked, except their having a scarf across their shoulders, in which hangs a short sword, and a little bonnet on their heads. Their cabbins, which are much
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neater than those of the other *Indians*, are built of split bamboos, with a large spreading roof that hangs over the house, under which they sit to take the air. Those who are established in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for a tract of about 40 leagues along the mountains of the country of *Bantam*, are immediately subject to the Governor General. The company send Commissaries among them, who administer justice, and collect the public revenues; and the principal men among the *Javanese* resort at certain times to *Batavia*, in order to give an account of the behaviour of these Commissaries.

The *Chinese* are so very numerous, that it is reckoned those in the city and suburbs amount to at least 5000. They seem naturally born for trade, are enemies to idleness, and think nothing hard or laborious that is attended with a certainty of gain. They can live upon very little, are bold, enterprizing, and to the last degree deceitful, taking a pride in imposing upon those who deal with them, and boasting of that cunning of which they ought to be ashamed. Most of the sugar-mills in *Batavia* belong to them; and the distillery of arrack is entirely in their hands. They are the carriers of *Asia*, and the *East-India* company itself frequently makes use of their vessels. They keep all the shops, and most of the inns in the city, and are likewise the farmers of the duties, excises, and customs. They are generally well made, and of an olive complexion. Their heads are very round, their eyes small, and
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their noses short and flat. They do not cut off their hair, as those are obliged to do who remain in *China*; but immediately upon leaving their native country suffer it to grow, as a mark of their freedom, and curl and dress it to great advantage. These people always appear bare-headed, with an umbrella in their hands to keep off the sun. They also suffer their nails to grow to an immoderate length, which gives them a prodigious dexterity in slight of hand, an art of considerable consequence, as it is managed by them. Their dress here differs from that worn in *China*. Their robes are very full, and their sleeves, which are of cotton cloth, very large. Underneath they have a pair of trowsers, which reach to their ancles. They go without stockings, and instead of shoes wear a kind of slippers. Their women also wear very long cotton robes, and are very brisk and lively, but impudent and extravagantly debauched. The *Chinese* in general have not the least notion of any distinction of meats; for they here eat without ceremony the flesh of dogs, cats, or rats, or any other animal that comes to hand. They here follow the religion of their country, and have, at a place about a league's distance from the city, a Pagoda, where they assemble for the exercise of their religion, and where is their principal idol, whom they call *Jooseje de Batavia*. They, as well as the *Javanese*, are so extravagantly addicted to gaming and laying of wagers, that they will not only lose all their money,

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money, houses, and goods at play, but will likewise stake their wives and children.

The *Malayans* at *Batavia* employ themselves chiefly in fishing; their vessels are very neat, and their sails ingeniously made of straw, but they are a most wicked and profligate people, and one often hears of their committing murders, for very trifling gains. They profess the *Mahometan* religion, but are absolutely void of morals, and make a merit of cheating Christians. The last Captain or Chief they had was publickly whipped and branded for his frauds and villanies: his goods were confiscated, and himself banished to the island of *Ceylon*, since which they have been ashamed to chuse another chief. Their habits are either silk or cotton, and the men wear a piece of cotton c'oth about their heads, with their black hair tied up in a knot behind.

The Negroes who live at *Batavia* are mostly *Mahometans*. Some of them work at mechanic trades, others are a kind of pedlars, but the most considerable of them trade in stone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring islands.

The *Amboinese* apply themselves chiefly to building of houses with bamboos, the windows of which are made of split cane, very neatly wrought in different figures. They are a very bold, boisterous people, and so turbulent, that they are not allowed to live in the city, but have their quarter near the *Chinese* burying ground. Their arms are for the most part large sabres, and long bucklers. The men
wear

wear a piece of cotton cloth round their heads, with the two corners hanging down behind, and this kind of turban they adorn with abundance of flowers. The women wear a sort of habit that fits close to their bodies, and wrap a cotton mantle round their shoulders, but leave their arms naked.

The *Mardykens*, or *Topasses*, are idolaters, composed of several *Indian* nations, and are of various trades and professions. Their merchants being furnished with passports from the company, carry on a great commerce in all the neighbouring islands. Some of them are gardeners; others breed cattle, and some of them fowls. The men generally dress like the *Dutch*, but the women go like other *Indians*. They dwell both in the city and country. Their houses are much better than those of the other *Indians*, and are generally built either of stone or brick; they are several stories high, and very neat.

At *Batavia* there are also some of the *Macassars* so famous for their little poisoned arrows, which they blow through a trunk. This poison is the juice of a certain tree that grows in *Macassar*, and in the *Bougi* islands. They dip the points of their arrows in this juice, and then letting them dry, the wound they give is certainly mortal.

The *Bougis* are the inhabitants of three or four islands, near that of *Macassar*, and since the conquest of this last island they have settled themselves at *Batavia*. They are hardy, bold fellows, for which reason the company make use of

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of them for soldiers. Their arms are bows and arrows, sabres and bucklers.

The *Armenians*, and some other *Asiatics*, reside in *Batavia*, only on account of trade, and stay no longer than their occasions call them.

The city of *Batavia*, and all the dominions which the company possess in the *East Indies*, are governed by two supreme councils, one styled the council of the *Indies*, and the other the council of Justice, both of which are fixed in the city of *Batavia*, as the capital of all the countries under the company's dominion. To the first of these councils belong all matters of government, and the direction of public affairs, and to the latter the administration of justice in all its branches. The Governor General always presides in the first, which is usually composed of 18 or 20 persons, who are called counsellors of the *Indies*. It very rarely happens that they are all at *Batavia* together, because they are usually provided with some or other of the seven governments in the company's disposal. This council assembles regularly twice a week, and upon extraordinary occasions as often as the Governor General pleases. They deliberate on every thing relating to the interest of the company, superintend the government of the island of *Java*, and whatever depends upon it. They likewise issue orders and instructions to other governments, which are implicitly obeyed; and in this council all letters directed to the Governor General, or to the Director, are read and answers agreed on by a plurality of voices.

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The council of justice is composed of a president, who is usually a counsellor of the *Indies*; eight counsellors of justice; a Fiscal, or Attorney General for affairs of government; another Fiscal for maritime affairs, and a secretary.

Besides these two sovereign councils, there is the council or tribunal of the city of *Batavia*, composed by nine aldermen, including the president, who is always a counsellor of the *Indies*, and a vice-president. The bailiff of the city, and the commissary of the adjacent country, have also seats in this assembly, and with the secretary make up the board.

The Governor General is the head of the empire established by the company in the *East Indies*, and is in reality Stádt holder, Captain-General, and Admiral. He is by his office president of the council of the *Indies*, in which he has two votes: he has the key of all the magazines, and directs every thing relating to them: he commands by his own proper authority, and every body is bound to obey him; but he is liable to be removed by the directors of the company at home, and in case of treason, or other enormous crimes, the council of justice have a right to seize his person, and call him to account. He is allowed by the company 800 rixdollars a month, and 500 more for his table, and they also pay the salaries of such as compose his household: but these appointments are only a very small part of his revenue; the legal emoluments of his office being so great, that within two or three years he

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he is able, without oppressing the people, or burdening his conscience, to raise an immense fortune. As he is in a manner the sovereign of the countries belonging to the company, he is allowed a court, and most of the honours paid to crowned heads. Whenever he stirs out of his palace, in order to go to his country seat, he is preceded by the master of the household, at the head of six gentlemen on horseback, with a trumpet; two halberdeers on horseback go immediately before his coach; then follows his master of the horse, at the head of six halberdeers on horseback; next come the other coaches which carry his friends and retinue, and the whole is closed by a troop of horse, consisting of 48 men, commanded by a captain and three quarter-masters, and preceded by a trumpet richly cloathed. Notwithstanding the revenues, power, and honours annexed to this office, it is extremely fatiguing, for the Governor General is employed from morning till night in giving audience, in reading of letters, and in giving orders for the company's service, so that he spares but one half hour for dinner, and even at table dispatches such affairs as are extremely pressing.

The Director General is the second person in the council of the *Indies*. He has the buying and selling all the commodities that enter into, or go out of the company's magazines: he orders what goods shall be sent to *Holland*, or elsewhere; and every officer under his command makes a daily report to him of the state of every thing under his charge,

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The third person in the government is the Major-General, who, under the Governor, has the command of all the forces.

The ecclesiastical government at *Batavia* is generally in the hands of eleven persons; all of whom are ministers of the reformed religion: five for the two *Dutch* churches in the city, and that in the citadel, besides the minister who resides in the island of *Owruft*, three *Portuguese* ministers, and two *Malayan*: the five last are *Dutchmen* by birth, though they preach in the *Portuguese* and *Malayan* tongues.

Having given this particular account of the city and government of *Batavia*, we shall take a view of the island in general, only observing that the country about its capital is so inexpressibly beautiful, that nature and art seem to strive which shall have the greatest share in adorning it. The air is sweet and mild, the land fertile and finely diversified with hills and valleys, all of which are improved by regular plantations, beautiful canals, and whatever else may contribute to render a country pleasant and agreeable.

The island of *Java* in general is about 300 leagues in circumference, and is divided into abundance of kingdoms and principalities, all of which are dependant on the emperor, who resides at *Kattasura*. We must, however, except out of the number of these tributary Princes, the Kings of *Bantam* and *Japara*, who do not acknowledge his authority.

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large quantities of those valuable effects which form the commerce of the country. It is divided by many rivers, woods, and mountains, in all of which nature has very bountifully bestowed her treasures, and it is said the natives find in many places considerable quantities of gold; but these places they carefully conceal from all the *Europeans*. During the last war in *Java*, which lasted from the year 1716 to 1721, the inhabitants of some parts of the country were so often and so miserably plundered, that they were reduced to absolute beggary; yet it was observed, to the astonishment of every one, that in the space of one year's peace, these very people grew excessively rich, and had not only great quantities of gold in dust, but also in ingots. This gold is supposed to be found in the mountains, many of which are so high as to be seen at the distance of 30 or 40 leagues. That which is called the Blue Mountain, is by far the highest of them all. One of the great disadvantages of the country is its being subject to very frequent and terrible earthquakes, one of which happened when our Author was there.

The fruits and plants in this island are excellent, and almost innumerable; that however which is, or ought to be most esteemed, is the cocoa. It is said, that when the father of a family in this country has a child born, he causes one of these trees to be planted, that it may know its own age; for the cocoa-tree has a circle which rises annually on its bark, so that its age is known by inspection; and if

any body asks the father how old his children are, he sends them to his cocoa-trees. .

There are abundance of woods and forests scattered over the island, in which are all kinds of wild beasts, such as buffaloes, tygers, rhinoceroses, and wild horses; and they likewise abound with an infinite variety of serpents, some of which are of a prodigious size. The crocodiles of *Java* are very large, and are chiefly found in the mouths of rivers. This creature, like the turtle, lays its eggs in the hot sands, without taking any farther care of them, and the sun hatches them at the proper season, when they instantly run into the water. Not long before our Author came to *Batavia*, a crocodile was taken in the mouth of a river to the eastward of the city, which was upwards of 33 feet in length. They have fowls of all sorts, that are exquisitely good, especially peacocks, partridges, pheasants, and wood-pigeons; they have likewise the *Indian* bat, which differs little in its form from ours; but its wings, when extended, measure a full yard, and the body is of the size of a rat.

They have fish in great plenty of different sorts, and very good, so that for the value of three-pence there may be enough bought to dine six or seven men. They have also multitudes of turtle. As the flat country thus abounds with all sorts of provisions, great quantities are daily brought to *Batavia*; and to prevent any danger of scarcity, the vessels belonging to the company are continually employed in bringing from the most distant parts

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of the island provisions, spices, and other necessities.

These spices are laid up in the magazines of *Batavia*, where are also deposited all the rich and valuable commodities not only of *Java*, but of all the *Indies*, that they may be ready to be transported thence, either to the other ports in the company's dominions, or in the ships that annually return to *Holland*. These may, in some measure, be compared to the flota and flotilla of the *Spaniards*, and therefore of these we shall give a very clear and distinct account.

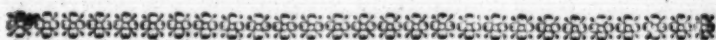
The company's ships sail from *Batavia* for *Holland* five times a year: the first squadron sails in *January*, and this consists of four or five sail: the second sails in *March*, and consists of only one ship. This vessel does not sail till the *Chinese* fleet, which brings the tea, is arrived, and of this the best part of the cargo of this vessel consists, whence it is called the Tea Ship; the common people also call it the Book Ship, from its bringing the Company's account of the preceding year, by which they see the state of the trade in the *Indies*. The third sails in the month of *July*, and is composed of four or five sail, which touch in their passage at the island of *Ceylon*; the fourth squadron of six or seven vessels sails in *September*; and the fifth, making a fleet of 16 or 20 sail, leaves *Batavia*, in the month of *October*. All these vessels, laden with the riches of so many countries, sail from the port of *Batavia*; the ships from *Mocha*, which bring home the

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coffee,

176 *Commodore* ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE

coffee, being the only vessels in the *India* company's service allowed to proceed directly home without going to *Batavia* at all.



C H A P. VI.

An Account of the Dominions and Settlements of the Dutch East India Company, particularly a Description of the Island of Ceylon: Of the Cinnamon-tree, and the Manner of fishing for Pearls. A Description of Amboyna, and of the Clove-tree. The Island of Banda described, and an Account of the Tree which bears Mace and Nutmegs: With a succinct Account of the four other Governments of Macassar, Ternate, Malacca, and the Cape of Good Hope. Of the four Directories belonging to the Company; and of their Commandories and Factories.

HAVING given the above particular account of the state of *Batavia*, and of the affairs of the *East India* company in its principal plantation; we shall now examine the extent of its dominions, the valuable commodities they produce, and the means by which the company governs so wide an empire, and manages so extensive a commerce.

The best government next to *Batavia*, is that of the island of *Ceylon*. The Governor who resides there is usually one of the Council of the *Indies*; and the council appointed to assist him is framed in the same manner with that of *Batavia*; but though the Governor

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of *Ceylon* is dependent on the council of the *Indies* at *Batavia*, he has the privilege of writing immediately to the directors of the company in *Holland*.

Of all the *Asiatic* islands *Ceylon* is perhaps the most fertile. It lies to the south east of the peninsula of *India*, and is separated from the coast of *Coromandel* by the streights of *Chilao* or *Manar*. Its situation is between six and 10°. north latitude, and 78°. and 82°. of longitude; so that it is about 55 leagues in length from north to south, and 30 from east to west. It is a spot so delicious, that many have believed it to be the seat of the terrestrial Paradise; and it is certain, that this is generally believed by the inhabitants, and that they pretend to prove it, by shewing at this day the tomb of *Adam*, and the print of his foot on the pike of *Adam*, one of the highest mountains in all the *Indies*. On another mountain is a salt lake, which the inhabitants ridiculously affirm was caused by the tears shed by *Eve* in her hundred years weeping for the death of *Abel*.

This island was discovered by the *Portuguese* in the year 1509, who built abundance of forts upon it for their own security, so that it was very difficult to dislodge them: but the *Dutch* having contracted a secret alliance with the King of *Candy*, who was Sovereign of the island, the *Portuguese* found themselves suddenly attacked on all sides by land and sea, and were by degrees driven out of all their possessions. As the *Dutch* have ever since taken a great deal of

178 *Commodore* ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE

pains to keep up a good correspondence with that monarch, they have obtained from him almost whatever they demanded. The company send every year an Ambassador to him with various presents; and in return, his Majesty sends the company a cabinet of jewels of such value, that the vessel which carries it home is thought to be worth half the fleet: The Governor himself takes such care to have it packed up among the rest of the merchandize, that not only none of the ship's company, but even the Captain of the vessel that carries it, knows not whether it be on board his ship or no.

The *East India* company are possessed of the whole coast of the island, and of ten or twelve leagues within land. The most important town is *Columbo*, which is the residence of the governor and his council.

The air of *Ceylon*, though very hot, is esteemed extremely healthful. The country abounds with excellent fruit of all kinds; but the most valuable of the trees is that which bears cinnamon. It resembles an orange-tree; but the flowers are like those of the laurel, and this valuable spice is the inner bark. The finest is taken from the young trees. The company also drive a great trade with the oil drawn from this spice, which is of prodigious value. The cinnamon of this island is esteemed the best in all *Asia*.

Among the animals, there are elephants, which are much larger than those in any other part of the *East Indies*. There are also tygers
bears,

bears, civit cats, and apes. There are likewise great plenty of wild and tame fowl, as well as of river and sea fish.

The *East-India* company gains very considerably by the precious stones found in this island, which are rubies, white and blue sapphires, topazes, &c. There is established on the coast of the island *Manar*, and of *Tockecorin*, a fine pearl fishery, which produces prodigious profit. This is let twice a year to farm to certain Negro merchants. This fishery is carried on only in fair weather, and when the sea is extremely calm. The oysters in which the pearls are found lie at the bottom of the sea. The diver has a rope, which passes under his arms, and is fastened to the boat : he has a large stone fixed to his feet to hasten his descent, and a bag at his waist, into which he puts the oysters as fast as he finds them. As soon as he is at the bottom of the sea, he takes up as many as lie within his reach, and with all possible expedition puts them into his bag. In order to ascend, he pulls a cord, upon which signal, those left in the boat draw him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours to rid himself of the stone at his feet, that he may rise the faster. When these boats are full of oysters, the Negro merchants carry them all over the coasts, and sell them at so much an hundred. This kind of trade is very hazardous with respect to those who purchase the oysters, since though they sometimes find pearls of great value, they frequently find none at all, or those that are worth but little. The company also
receives

receives considerable profit from the manufactures of muslin, chints, and other stuffs: but the greatest part of the muslin sent into *Europe* come from the coast of *Malabar*.

The inhabitants of the island of *Ceylon* are called *Cingolefians*. They are generally speaking very tall, are of a dark complexion, and have their ears excessively large, which is owing to the weight of the ornaments they wear in them. The men have great courage, live hard, and make good soldiers. They are particularly remarkable for their skill in taming elephants, which in time of peace they use as beasts of burden, and in time of war, against their enemies. They are generally *Mahometans*: but some of them are idolaters. They pay but little respect to the *Dutch*, whom they scornfully stile their coast-keepers. At this the *Dutch* give themselves but little concern, while they can keep a good correspondence with the King of *Candy*, whose dominions are separated from theirs by a large rapid river, and by forests so thick that it is almost impossible to penetrate them.

The second government dependent on *Batavia*, is that of *Amboyna*, † one of the *Mo-*

† *Amboyna* was once divided between the English and the Dutch; but in the Reign of King James I. the latter took the Advantage of the Pusillanimity of that Prince, and barbarously tortured the English to make them sign a false Confession of their intending to attack them, and then expelled those who survived their Cruelties.

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luccos. This island was formerly the seat of the Governor General; but after the building of *Batavia*, his seat was transferred to that city on account of its advantageous situation in the midst of all the company's settlements. Besides, the island of *Java* has the advantage of being infinitely more fertile than *Amboyna*, which is one of the largest of the *Moluccos*. It is situated in the Archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, between the third and fourth degree of south latitude, and is 120 leagues to the eastward of *Batavia*. It was conquered by the *Portuguese* in 1519, who built a fort upon it, with a view of not only bridling the inhabitants, but of keeping a force there sufficient to subdue all the adjacent islands. This fort was however taken from them by the *Dutch* in 1605, but they did not render themselves intirely masters of *Amboyna*, and the adjacent islands, till the year 1627.

This conquest put the whole clove trade into their hands, not only without a partner, but without a competitor. These islands are stiled the Gold Mines of the company, as indeed they have proved, on account of the vast profit they draw from them, and the little fear there is of their being ever exhausted. To convince the reader of this, it need only be observed, that a pound weight of either cloves or nutmegs costs the company not much above an halfpenny, and every body knows at what rate they are sold in *Europe*. *Amboyna* is the centre of this rich commerce; and to keep it more effectually there, the company take care to have

have all the clove-trees in the adjacent islands grubbed up and destroyed; and sometimes when the harvest is very large in *Amboyna*, part of that is burnt too.

The tree which bears cloves is much like our laurel, only the leaves being narrower resemble those of the almond and willow tree. The very wood and leaves taste as strong as the cloves themselves. The trees bear a great quantity of branches and flowers, and each of the flowers bring forth a clove, which is at first white, then green, and at last red, and pretty hard. While they are green, they have the most fragrant and refreshing scent imaginable. These cloves grow with little stalks, and hang on the trees like cherries. When they gather them, instead of plucking them off one by one, some strip them off the boughs with a rope, and others beat them down with long poles. They never trouble themselves to plant these trees, for the cloves that fall to the ground produce enough of them, and the rain makes them grow very fast. They bear fruit when they are eight years old, and are said to continue bearing for above one hundred years. They ripen from the latter end of *August* till the beginning of *January*. It is remarkable that their heat is so great, that no vegetable, not even a weed, will grow about them. A few days after the fruit is fallen from the tree, they collect the cloves together and dry them, by which means they lose the beautiful red colour they derived from nature, and change into a deep purple, or rather black, which perhaps

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is occasioned by their being sprinkled with water. It is said that this sprinkling is necessary to hinder the worm from getting into the fruit; but it is thought a better reason may be assigned for it, which is the adding weight to the cloves.

One would imagine, that so rich a commerce as that of cloves might be sufficient for the expence the company is at in this island: but such is their care to improve every thing to the best advantage, that of late years they have caused coffee to be planted in *Amboyna*. Gold is also said to have been washed down by torrents from the mountains; and, among the other valuable productions of this island is a red kind of wood, which, besides the beauty of its colour, is exceeding firm and durable; and what is still more extraordinary, its grain is naturally embellished with abundance of beautiful figures. With this wood they make tablets, cabinets, escrutoires, and other pieces of furniture, of which presents are made to the principal persons of the government, and the rest sold all over the *Indies* at a very extravagant rate.

The inhabitants of the island are of a middle stature, and of a black complexion. They are all of them very lazy, and most of them have a strong propensity to thieving. Some, however, are very ingenious, and have a singular art in working up the cloves. while green, into abundance of curious toys, as ships, crowns, little houses, &c. which are usually sent to *Europe* as presents, and are esteemed extraordinary

dinary curiosities. Such of the *Amboyne* as are subject to the King profess the *Mahometan* religion; but besides these there are a great number of idolaters in the island, who live in the mountains, and acknowledge no master. They consider themselves as free, but both the King and the company look upon them as savages: and being frequently guilty of robberies and murders, whenever any of them are caught, they are condemned to perpetual slavery, employed in the hardest work, and treated with the utmost rigour. On this account an inexpressible hatred subsists between them and the rest of the people of the island, with whom they are in perpetual war, and to whom they very rarely give quarter. Their arms are a sword, a buckler, and a kind of pike or javelin.

The King of *Amboyna* receives an annual pension from the company, and has also a guard of *European* soldiers maintained at their expence. As to the company's force in *Amboyna*, it principally consists in the garrison, which is very numerous, and composed of their best troops. The fort is so strong both from art and nature, that it is in a manner impregnable, and so effectually commands the harbour, that it seems impossible for a vessel to go in and out without being sunk, if the Governor should give orders for that purpose.

The third Government of the *Indies* is that of the island of *Banda*, situated twenty leagues from *Amboyna*, and to the south of the *Moluccos*. The Governor is generally an eminent merchant,

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merchant, who resides at *Nora*, the capital of the country, and has under his jurisdiction several other small islands, that lie in its neighbourhood. The Council of this Government is settled on the same foot with that of *Amboyna*. *Banda* is very hilly, and does not contain above twelve leagues in circumference: yet it certainly produces no less profit to the company than the former, from the important commerce in nutmegs, which grow here in such prodigious quantities, as to enable the *Dutch* to supply all the markets in *Europe*.

The tree that produces this excellent fruit very much resembles a pear-tree, but its leaves are like that of a peach, only they are shorter and rounder. It bears three times a year, *viz*, in *April*, *August*, and *December*; but the *April* nutmegs are the best, and in that month the crop is more plentiful than in the other two. The nutmeg when ripe is much of the same size as the walnut, and is covered with a thick shell, which opens and falls off of itself as the fruit ripens, and when candied has a very fine taste. Under this is a skin of a fine scarlet colour, and a very fragrant smell. This skin, which is called *Mace*, also falls off the nutmeg, when it changes to an orange colour. Immediately under the mace appears the fruit, with a little bud at the top, resembling a very beautiful flower. These nutmegs being preserved in sugar, are much esteemed, as being the best sweetmeats in the *Indies*. But those commonly used in *Europe* are only well dried, after their being first thrown into quick lime,

which is done to prevent the worms breeding in them. There are several islands in the neighbourhood of *Banda*, in which nutmegs would grow, did not the company take care to have them destroyed every year; for there is a kind of birds in this and the neighbouring islands, shaped like a cuckoo, which picking off the green husk, swallow the nuts; and these having been some time in the stomach, they void by the ordinary way, after which they take root in the place where they fall, and grow up to a tree: whence the *Dutch* properly stile these birds the Gardeners of the spice-trees.

There also grows here, as well as at *Ambayna*, a tree called *Caliputte*, from whence they draw a very rich and salutary oil, that is sold at a high price.

Among the inhabitants of this island there are a sort of free burgessees called *Perkiniers*, who have the sole curing of the nutmegs, and furnish the company with what quantities they think proper to demand, for which they receive a very moderate gratification, and yet live much at their ease.

The island of *Banda* is so well fortified, that it is thought to be impregnable; yet to prevent any accident that might happen in case an enemy should get into the port under *Dutch* colours, there is always a large squadron of small vessels plying round the coast, which upon the first appearance of a strange ship immediately surround her, and examine whence she comes, whither bound, and of what strength. The

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garrison is numerous, but in a much worse condition than any other in the company's service. This arises from the want of provisions; for the island having a barren sandy soil, produces very little food of any sort; for which reason the soldiers, who are so unhappy as to be stationed here, are glad to eat cats, dogs, and any other animals that come to hand. The rest of their provisions is turtle, which are pretty plentiful for about six months in the year; and after this season they think themselves very happy, if they can sometimes catch a few fish. They make their bread of the juice of a tree, which when first drawn resembles the dregs of beer, but when dried grows as hard as a stone, yet being put into water swells and ferments, and thus becomes fit to eat, at least in a country where nothing else is to be got. As for butter, rice, dried fish, and other eatables, they are all sent thither from *Batavia*, and come much too dear for the soldiers to have any great plenty of them.

The *Dutch* represent the natives as being such a cruel, perfidious, and untractable people, that the company were forced in a great measure to root them out for their own security, and to settle a *Dutch* colony in the island; but this colony being formed of the most debauched and abandoned people, may probably much exceed the natives in wickedness. They, however, are generally soon carried off by the dry gripes and twisting of the guts, which are the epidemical distempers of the country. For this reason, and because wild young fellows are

188 *Commodore* ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE

sometimes sent thither by their relations, the *Dutch* at *Batavia* call *Banda* the *Island of Correction*.

The island of *Celebes*, or *Macassar*, is considered as the fourth government in the company's disposal. It lies between *Borneo* and the *Moluccos*, at the distance of about 160 leagues from *Batavia*. Its form is in a manner circular, and its diameter about 130 leagues. This is called the *Key of the Spice Islands*. The form of government is much the same as in the other islands. The *Dutch*, who drove the *Portuguese* from this settlement, have taken care to fortify themselves effectually on the sea-coast, and have always a very numerous garrison in the fort of *Macassar*, where the Governor resides. This is the more necessary, as the island is very populous, and the natives are by far the bravest and best soldiers in the *East-Indies*. This nation for a long time gave the *Dutch* inexpressible trouble, and rendered their commerce very precarious; yet at last they were totally subdued, and at present stand in as much fear of the company as any other nation.

This island is very fruitful, especially in rice, which is a commodity of great value in the *Indies*. The inhabitants are of a middle stature, and of a yellow complexion, but have good features, and are extremely brisk and active. They are however said to be so addicted to robbery and murder, that it is not safe for any Christian to venture after it is dark without the wall of the *Dutch* forts, or to travel

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vel at any time far into the country; yet there live under the protection of these forts abundance of the natives, who are free burgessees, and carry on a considerable trade; as do also the *Chinese*, who sail from hence in their own vessels, to all parts of the company's dominions.

The inland country is under the dominion of three different Princes, who, happily for the *Dutch*, are constantly at variance with each other; and if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the *Dutch* out of the island. One of these Prinees is stiled the Company's King, from his living in a good correspondence with them, and promoting their interest as far as lies in his power. They from time to time make him presents of gold chains, coronets of gold set with precious stones, and other things of value, in order to keep him steadily attached to their interest. Some time before our Author's arrival at *Batavia*, a gold mine was discovered in this island; and not only a great number of labourers, but a Director was sent from *Batavia* to work it.

The island of *Ternate* is the fifth Government in the company's disposal, and is the most distant of all their islands in the East, for which reason they consider it as a kind of frontier. The Governor is a merchant, and has a council, like those of the other islands. *Ternate*, which is one of the *Moluccos*, is of a considerable extent, and the King is the best ally the company have. His country would abound with cloves, if he did not cause

them to be grubbed up every year, for which the company allow him an annual pension of 18 or 20,000 rixdollars. He has a numerous life-guard, and a very strong fort, in which there is a good garrison maintained by the company. The Kings of *Tydore* and *Bachian*, are his tributaries. He has concluded a perpetual alliance with the company, by which he has obliged himself to assist them against all their enemies; and on the other hand the company treat him with the utmost respect, and afford him whatever assistance he stands in need of.

The island in general abounds in all sorts of provisions, and whatever else is requisite to make life easy and happy. The inhabitants are a middle-sized people; they are strong and active, and in general much better affected to the *Europeans* than any of their neighbours. They are most of them *Mahometans* or *Pagans*. However, abundance of them are become Christians, and the King himself is of that religion. They make a kind of palm wine, which is excessively strong; and as a very small quantity of it will intoxicate a man, it is in high esteem. There are found here a kind of birds, that are the most beautiful imaginable; for their feathers, which are of all colours, are so finely diversified, that it is not possible to conceive any thing more charming. They are commonly sent to *Batavia*, where they sell at a very high price, not only on account of their great beauty, but of their docility; for they are taught to sing finely, and to imitate the human voice.

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The sixth Government bestowed by the company is that of *Malacca*, the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, on the south part of the peninsula of *India*, and is divided from the great island of *Samatra* by a streight, which bears the name of the Streights of *Malacca*. The *Dutch* took this place from the *Portuguese* in 1641. The city is large, and drives a great trade in consequence of its excellent situation, which renders it the storehouse and magazine of all that part of *India*. It is also the rendezvous of the homeward bound ships from *Japan*, who here made a distribution of their merchandizes, and send them in different assortments to all the company's settlements throughout the *Indies*.

The Princes who govern the adjacent countries are, as well as their subjects, most notorious pirates, and disturb the trade of the whole *Indies*; but they are at present less able to do mischief than formerly. The inhabitants of *Malacca* are of a very dark complexion; they are brisk and active, but much addicted to thieving. Some of them are idolaters; but the majority of them are *Mahometans*.

The inland inhabitants, called *Monacaboes*, are a barbarous savage people, whose greatest pleasure is in doing mischief to their neighbours about the cape, for which reason the peasants about *Malacca* sow no grain, but what is inclosed in gardens, with thick-set hedges, or deep ditches; for when the grain is ripe in the open plains, the *Monacaboes* never fail to set fire to it. They are much whiter than the neighbouring

192 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE*

neighbouring *Malayans*, who inhabit the low grounds : but are so untractable, that the King of *Jashore*, whose subjects they are, or at least ought to be, could never civilize them.

There is an high mountain to the north-eastward of *Malacca*, that sends forth several rivers, of which, that of *Malacca* is one, and all of them have small quantities of gold dust found in their channels.

The *Dutch* fort at *Malacca* is both large and strong ; one third part of the walls is washed by the sea ; a deep, rapid, but narrow river runs by the west side, and the rest is encompassed by a broad and deep ditch. The Governor's house is both beautiful and convenient, and there are several other good houses in the fort and in the town ; but the road is at too great a distance to be defended by this fortification, the shallowness of the sea obliging the ships to lie at above a league's distance.

Though the country produces nothing for a foreign market, except a little tin and elephants teeth, yet it affords several excellent fruits and roots.

The seventh and last Government under the *Dutch East-India* company is that of the *Cape of Good Hope*. The Governor is always one of the counsellors of the *Indies*, and, like the other Governors, has a council to assist him in the administration of affairs. The Cape is situated on the most southern point of the continent of *Africa*, and is chiefly valued for its being the only place, where their outward and homeward bound fleets can meet with fresh water,
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and a plentiful supply of all kinds of refreshments. For here are to be had whatever is requisite, either to recover the sick on shore, or to recruit the ships stores for the support of the men at sea.

We have now taken a view of all the seven Governments that are in the gift of the *Dutch East India Company*; but as the same company likewise carry on a great trade throughout all the *Indies*, they have taken care to establish settlements or factories, wherever their affairs require it: in each of which there is a Chief, who has a council. Among these the Directories of *Coromandel*, *Surat*, *Bengal*, and *Persia*, are of great consequence, and the Directors have, within the extent of their respective jurisdictions, the same power with the company's Governors, except that the Directors cannot execute any criminal in the country where he resides, but must cause it to be done under the company's flag, so that all criminals are here executed on board a ship.

The Directory of *Coromandel* has the forts and factories belonging the *Dutch* upon that coast within its jurisdiction. The company have a very considerable interest in this part of *India*; for besides *Negapatan*, which lies on the southernmost point of *Coromandel*, and the fort of *Guedria*, in which the Director resides, they have eight other factories. The *Dutch* Director is a principal merchant, and is assisted by a council: his post is so extremely profitable, that in a few years he may raise an immense fortune. The great trade carried on here consists

sists of cottons, muslins, chintzes, and the like goods, in exchange for which the *Dutch* bring them spices, *Japan* copper, steel, gold dust, sandal and siampan woods. The inhabitants are some of them Pagans, and not a few Christians. During the east monsoon, the weather is exceeding hot, yet the country is very fertile in rice, fruits, herbs, and all other necessities.

The second and third Directories are fixed in the dominions of the Great Mogul, the former at *Ouglia*, 36 leagues from the mouth of the *Ganges*; and the other in the city of *Surat*. These are the most considerable places for trade in all *Asia*. The *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and other *Europeans* trade to both, and have erected forts and magazines for their security and convenience. The best part of the trade is carried on by *Arabian* merchants, who deal in all sorts of rich goods, as diamonds, opium, rich stuffs, and all kinds of cotton cloths.

The fourth and last factory under a Director is that of *Gambroon*, on the coast of *Persia*. The Director is a principal merchant, and has always a council and a fiscal to assist him. There are several other *European* nations settled here besides the *Dutch*. The city is but a disagreeable place to live in, since in *August* it is so intolerably hot, that there is no bearing it; and in the winter it is so very cold, that they not only wear *English* cloth, but line it with furs.

In the places that are not of such consequence as to require either a Governor or a Director,

Director, the *East India* company have established another principal officer with the title of Commander or Chief. These have, in conjunction with their councils, nearly the same authority as the Governors; only in criminal cases, they cannot execute any capital sentence, till it has been confirmed by the council of *Batavia*.

The Commander of the fort at *Cochin*, the capital of the *Dutch* possessions on the coast of *Malabar*, in *India*, is the first of these. *Cochin* is strong both by nature and art. The city is about 600 paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with seven large bastions, and curtains so thick, that two rows of large trees are planted on them to afford shade during the hot season. Some streets built by the *Portuguese* are still standing, with a church for the *Dutch* service, and a cathedral now turned into a warehouse. Their flag-staff is placed on the steeple of the old cathedral, on a mast seventy-five feet high, with a staff on the top of it about sixty feet, by which means the flag may be seen at about seven leagues distance. The adjacent country is extremely pleasant. The river affords plenty of fish, and the mountains are well stored with game. The country produces a great quantity of pepper, but it is lighter than that which grows more northerly. It has also plenty of iron, steel, and bees-wax.

Cranganor lies a league up the river from the sea: the *Dutch* have a fort there. This place is remarkable for having been formerly the seat of a *Jewish* Government, when that nation

196 *Commodore ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE*

tion is said to have had above 80,000 families there; but at present they do not exceed 4000. They have a synagogue at *Cochin*, in which are carefully kept their records, engraven on copper plates in *Hebrew* characters, and they can shew their history from the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*. They declare themselves to be of the tribe of *Manassah*, a part of which was carried by that haughty conqueror to the most eastern province of his large empire, which it seems reached as far as *Cape Comorin*.

The inhabitants of this country are many of them idolaters, over whom their Bramins or Priests have a very great authority. Among other very odd customs, the following is most singular: When any man marries, he is not allowed to lay with his wife the first night, for this office is to be performed by one of the Bramins, or, if there be none at hand, by some other man. Of this the foreigners, who are settled here, formerly made a very considerable profit, for the *Malabars* making choice of them rather than of their own countrymen, usually gave them very handsome presents, which sometimes amounted to 5 or 600 florins; but of late the Bramins are become so very religious in performing this part of their duty, that they take care never to be out of the way when it is to be done; for this reason it is a law of the country, that neither the sons or daughters ever inherit, but the nephews and nieces, that is the sister's children of the person deceased; which rule is observed in the order

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VOL

order of succession established in their royal families.

The next Commandery is that of *Gallo*, in the island of *Ceylon*, at the distance of 20 leagues from *Columbo*. This is a considerable place of trade; the Commander of which, however, depends on the Governor of *Ceylon*, and can do nothing without his approbation.

The third Commandery is that of *Samaran* in the island of *Java*, which has the direction of all the factories in that island, except such as depend immediately on the Governor of *Batavia*.

At *Bantam*, in the same island, the head of the factory has the title of a Chief. The company have a very strong fort there, and a numerous garrison, to keep the people in awe, who are far from being well affected to the *Dutch*. The King of *Bantam* has also a fort at the distance of some hundred paces from the company's fort, in which he has a stout garrison for the security of his person. The bay of *Bantam* is very safe and pleasant, in which are many islands that still retain the names given them by the *English*, who had formerly a very fine factory at this place, from which they were expelled in 1683. The country of *Bantam* is very fertile, abounding with cattle, rice and fruits, and in the heart of the country there are frequently found precious stones of great value, which, however, seldom fall into the possession of the *Dutch*, the people fearing that these might tempt them to extend their conquests.

The second of the Chiefs resides at *Padang*, on the coast of *Sumatra*, otherwise called the *Gold Coast*, which lies about eight leagues from the sea, on the banks of a very large river. The great trade carried on there is in pepper, which the *Dutch East India* company endeavour to monopolize. *Achen*, the capital, is now a free port, to which the *English, Dutch, Chinese*, and all the nations of *Asia*, trade with safety. The goods brought thither are rich brocades, silks, muslins, raw silk, fish, butter, oil, and ammunition, for which they are chiefly paid in gold and pepper†. There are also several *Dutch* plantations in this island, which are comprehended under the general title of the *West Coast*. However, the inhabitants of *Sumatra* are much more inclined to the *English* than the *Dutch*, though the latter take all the pains they can to prevent it, and to force the natives to deal with none but themselves.

The third Chief resides at *Japan*; he is always a principal merchant, and is assisted by some writers in the company's service. There is no place in the *East Indies* where the *Dutch* have so little authority as in *Japan*. They have, it is true, a small island allowed them to themselves, where they have warehouses for their goods, and a few ordinary houses for those in the company's service. But then this

† For a very particular Description of *Sumatra* and of *Achen*, its Capital, see *Commodore Beau-lieu's Voyage*, Chap. VI.

island is in effect a prison ; and the only shadow of liberty they have left, consists in the Chief's going once a year, attended by two or three persons, to the Emperor's court, in quality of Ambassador, in order to renew the Treaty of Commerce which subsists between that monarch and the company. This island is divided from the city of *Nangasacki* by a small stream of salt water, about forty feet broad, at the end of which is a draw-bridge, over which the *Dutch* dare not pass to the city without leave from the Governor, neither dare any of the *Japanese* converse with the *Dutch*, except the merchants and factors, who have a licence for that purpose. For the security of the factory, the island is palisadoed round, and there are four great streets that go across it, with large warehouses on both sides, and a spacious market-place opposite to the bridge, where at certain times, the citizens of *Nangasacki* have leave to trade with them. The *Dutch* are not even masters of their own ships ; for no sooner does one of them enter the port, than the *Japanese* instantly take her into their possession, carry the arms and ammunition on shore, and lay them up safely, in order to return them when the ship is ready to sail : they also exact a strict account of the number and quality of all the men on board.

Japan is well peopled, and produces every thing necessary for life in great plenty ; yet the *Dutch* in their island pay a great price for every thing they have, and purchase even their
fire-wood

fire wood by weight. The mountains are very rich in gold, silver, and copper, which last is the best in the known world. The porcelain at *Japan* is finer, and adorned with brighter colours than that of *China*, but is much thicker and heavier; but their tea is not near so good. Their japanned work is the best in the world, for the finest sort will ho'd boiling water without any detriment. The silks, both wrought and raw, produced in this country are much stronger than those in *China*. The houses of the people are for the most part built of wood; but the Emperor's palaces are of marble, and the roofs covered with gilt copper. Their gilding is very durable, and will bear all winds and weathers for many years. In point of military discipline they exceed the *Chinese*, and their people are not of so base and effeminate a temper as most of the inhabitants of that great empire. The Government is perfectly uniform and well settled; and though several districts have the title of kingdoms, yet all their monarchs are under the strictest subjection to the Emperor. The *Japanese* are however so wedded to their own customs and opinions, and so jealous of having new ones introduced, that they will neither send embassies to other states, nor suffer their merchants to have any commerce out of their dominions. They however send some small junks in the summer-time to *Jedso*, which is about 50 leagues from the north end of *Japan*; and it is reported that they bring much gold
from

from thence ; but whether that country be a part of their dominions or not, is difficult to say.

The *Japanese* are so remarkably honest, that a merchant of reputation in his payments puts up five, ten, or any decimal number of *Cupangs* (broad oblong pieces of gold, of twenty shillings value in *Japan*) into a silk bag, and putting it to his seal, it passes current for what the seal mentions for several generations, without so much as any one's examining what is in the bag ; and gold is so plentiful, that when the company has stamped a lion upon a cupang, it passes for forty shillings sterling. The *Japanese* are however very rigorous in punishing of crimes. When a man of distinction is convicted of a capital offence, the Emperor sends him a Letter to inform him that on such a day and hour he must be his own executioner, under the penalty of suffering exquisite torments, if he survives the appointed time. The delinquent, on the day fixed, invites his nearest and best friends to a sumptuous feast. After it is over he shews them the Emperor's letter, and while they are reading it, takes a dagger, and stabbing himself below the naval, rips himself up to the breast-bone. The inferior sort are punished by hanging, beheading, and throwing down an high precipice : and for small faults whipping and stigmatizing are common punishments.

Their religion is purely Pagan, and their favourite God is named *Amida*. They have several other Deities, each of which has its adorers and devotees, and every God has its particular

ticular paradise in the suburbs of heaven ; but they are all of them so distant, that a soul is three years in travelling before he can reach them. Some of the zealots cut their own throats to get an easy passage to the paradise of some of these deities, and others hang themselves for the same purpose. They carry their idols in procession on horseback with vocal and instrumental music, and make many feasts and sacrifices to them. There is a tutelar god to every family, whose idol is placed at the top of the house, in order to keep them from sickness and misfortunes ; but when any of these happen, they take down the idol and whip him for not having performed his duty.

The *Dutch* company have also three factories, the heads of which have the title of Residents, and correspond directly with the Governor General of *Batavia*. The first of these independent Residents is fixed at *Cheribon* on the coast of *Java*, 40 leagues from *Batavia*, where the company carries on a very advantageous trade in coffee, cardamums, indigo, cotton, &c.

The second Resident has the direction of the company's affairs in the kingdom of *Siam*, and has an assistant or book-keeper under him. The company carry on a very considerable trade here in tin, lead, elephants teeth, gums, lack, wool, and other commodities. The king of *Siam's* territories are near 300 leagues in extent, and he allows all nations to trade freely to his dominions. However, ships of any great burthen are obliged to come to an anchor
thirty-six

thirty-six leagues from his capital, because the river *Menan*, upon which it stands, is so rapid, that they cannot sail up it without great difficulty. This river, like the *Nile*, and many others in the *Indies*, overflows its banks at a certain season; so that for half the year the best part of the country lies under water, on which account the houses are all built upon posts.

The capital of *Siam* consists of at least 50,000 houses. The people are all Pagans, and famous for holding it as a maxim, that all religions are good, provided they tend to the honour of God. However, they think their own the best, though upon some occasions they are ready to own that the God of the Christians is most powerful, because the head of their principal idol has been twice beaten to pieces by thunder. This statue is perhaps the biggest in the world. It is represented sitting cross-legged, in which position it is seventy feet high. At three leagues distance from the capital is a prodigious large temple, in which there is an idol not quite so tall, as the former. The priests tell the people that this is the wife of the other, and that once in seven years she goes to him, or he comes to her. They also persuade themselves that this enormous statue, as well as the other, is all of solid gold; but the last clap of thunder that fell upon it detected this part of the cheat, and shewed it to be no more than brick and lime very artfully gilded over. The country of *Siam* is very rich and fertile, and a considerable trade is carried on there by the *Chinese*. The *Dutch* have
however

however very great privileges, and are considered as the most favoured nation.

The third Residency is fixed at *Mocha*, where the Resident is always a merchant, who has under him two factors. There is also a factory there belonging to the *English East India* company, and a considerable trade carried on by the *Portuguese, Banians, Arabians, Persians*, and other nations. This city is situated close to the sea, in a large, dry, sandy plain, that affords neither fruit nor water, except what is brackish; the inhabitants are, however, supplied with very good water by land carriage from *Mofa*, which is at 20 miles distance. But notwithstanding this inconvenience, the town is large, indifferently fortified, and the buildings being lofty, make a fine appearance from the sea.



C H A P. VII.

The Author sets sail for Europe, and arrives at the Cape of Good Hope, whence he proceeds to the Island of St. Helena, which is described. Sailing from thence the Ships touch at the Island of Ascension, and are driven by hard Gales to the Azore Islands; after which they continue their Voyage to Holland, where Commodore Roggewein and the Crews obtain Satisfaction for the Injuries done them by the Governor General of Batavia.

HAVING given this long and circumstantial account of the oeconomy of the *Dutch East India* company, we shall now resume the thread of our Author's narration. He was obliged to prosecute his voyage home from *Batavia* in one of the company's ships, in which nothing remarkable happened, except their meeting with a violent storm on the eastern coast of *Africa*, by which they narrowly escaped being driven upon the rocks.

They had no sooner sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, than they discovered abundance of *English* and *French*, as well as *Dutch* ships, and a little before they reached the bay, saw a small island called the *Island of Seals*, where the company have always a guard posted, composed of a serjeant and a small number of men, who are employed there in drawing of whale-oil,

oil, and raking oyster-shells to make lime. Into this island malefactors are generally banished from the Cape, and indeed from most parts of the *Indies*; where, besides the punishment of being thus separated from their friends, they are put to the hardest labour, according to the *Dutch* maxim, that the worse kind of work is best done by the lazy. As soon as the serjeant saw what number of ships the fleet consisted of, he hoisted a flag, and fired as many pieces of cannon as there were ships, to give notice to the Commander at the Cape.

The Bay, which is very fine and large, is of an oval form, and enters two or three leagues within land; so that it may be in the whole about nine leagues in circuit, and is capable of holding an hundred large ships very commodiously. The anchorage however is not every where equally good, for there is some danger near the shore. The middle of this Bay is commanded by a strong fort, which is a regular pentagon, each of its bastions mounted with twenty pieces of heavy cannon. The fort and town are both situated on the edge of a plain, about three leagues in extent, lying at the bottom of three very high mountains; the first of which is called the *Lion* mountain, from its being supposed to resemble a lion, couching upon his belly. The next is the *Table* mountain, so called from its resembling a table: this is much higher than the other, and in a clear day may be seen at 20 leagues distance. The third is called the *Devil's* mountain, and is not so remarkable as either of the former.

The

The houses of which the town is composed are very neat and agreeable, but not above two stories high, on account of the south-east winds that sometimes blow here.

Towards the end of *March* 1723, the ships being re-victualled and ready to sail, a brisk south-east wind carried them out of the bay. the fleet consisting of about 23 sail, the greatest part of which belonged to the company. They steered for the island of *St. Helena*, where they arrived in three weeks. On their approaching the island, the Commodore detached two ships to discover whether there were any corsairs upon that coast; for a little before they had seen and given chase to a pirate; whence he apprehended that more of them might be hovering about that island.

St. Helena lies in the latitude of $16^{\circ} 15'$, south, about 550 leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*, 500 leagues from the coast of *Brasil*, and 350 from *Augusta*, which is the nearest land. This island is about seven leagues in circumference, and is covered with rocky hills, which in a clear day may be seen at the distance of 40 leagues. It is really surprizing to see so small an island in the midst of the ocean, with so deep a sea round it, that there is scarce any anchorage to be found. The *Portuguese* first discovered it to their cost, they having one of their large *Indian* ships wrecked upon it; of the remains of which they built a chapel, which, though long since decayed, still bestows its name on the finest valley in the island.

They

They planted lemons, oranges, and pomegranates, and also left their hogs and goats, together with partridges, pigeons, and peacocks, for the conveniency of such ships as should touch there; but they did not think fit to plant it, from the apprehension of being dispossessed by some other nation. Afterwards an hermit chose to live here by himself, but the *Portuguese* removed him, as they did some negro slaves, who at length settled in the mountains. It is at present possessed by the *English*, who have a good fort here, and are so well established, that it is not probable they will ever be disturbed by any other nation. The vallies are fertile and beautiful, but the weather is sometimes very hot; yet even then it is cool upon the mountains. There is not any country in the world better watered, the rivulets running from the tops of the hills into the sea. Here are purslain, sorrel, cresses, and other herbs, esteemed sovereign remedies for the scurvy. The island has also some trees, though none fit for timber, but for fuel only; and though there were formerly disputes between the *English* and *Dutch* about the possession of the island, yet the former now treat the latter very kindly, whenever their ships put in here, and furnish them with whatever they want.

They sailed from hence for the island of *Ascension*, which lies in 8° south latitude, and is of about the same size as *St. Helena*, but the shore is excessively rocky, and the country intirely barren, for here are neither grass nor trees;

trees; the surface of the land looks as if rent asunder; and there is a pretty high hill in the middle of the island, which some imagine to have been formerly a volcano. At certain seasons of the year the country is almost covered with sea-fowl; but what chiefly induces ships to put into the only harbour to be found here, is the great plenty of excellent turtle, which come on shore in the night to lay their eggs. It is very common to leave malefactors on this island, where they are exposed to great misery, from being in one of the hottest climates in the world, without the least shelter. However, these unhappy wretches enjoy the possibility of being carried off by some other ships.

After their leaving this island, they approached the line, and passed it without feeling any excessive heat; for as the sun was then turning towards the north, they had the benefit of pretty brisk winds, which cooled the air. They now also began to see at night the north star, which they had not done for a year and an half; and it is not to be expressed how much the seamen were rejoiced at this incident.

They continued steering to the northward, till they were overtaken by hard gales of wind, and driven within sight of two of the *Azore* islands, called *Flores* and *Corvo*. Their fresh provisions being now pretty far spent, this accident, though it delayed time a little, could not be considered as a misfortune, for though they staid only three days in the larger island, that

time was also sufficient for their procuring the refreshments they wanted, and also to allow them to take a view of the country.

On their entering the *Spanish* sea, the weather proved so bad, that the advice-ship lost her rudder, which obliged her to sail through the channel, in order to purchase one on the *English* coast, while the rest of the fleet sailed as usual round the coast of *Ireland*, and had at last sight of the *Orkneys*, where some *Dutch* ships were still employed in the herring fishery. In the latitude of 60°. they met with some ships that were waiting for them, which convoyed them to the coast of *Holland*, and the squadron on board which the prisoners were, entered the *Texel* on the 11th of *July*, 1723, and five days after arrived at *Amsterdam*.

Upon their return, the *West India* company immediately commenced a suit in behalf of themselves and the persons employed on board the squadron under their protection, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injustice done them by the *East India* company; while the *East India* directors justified all the proceedings of the Governor General. But at length the affair being brought to an issue, their High Mightinesses the States General decreed, That the *East India* company should furnish the *West India* company with two new ships compleatly rigged, in every respect better than those which the Governor General of *Batavia* had condemned and confiscated; that the former should likewise pay to the latter the full value of their
cargoes,

cargoes, as soon as that value could be ascertained ; that with respect to the crews of both ships, the *East India* company should pay them their wages to the time of their return to *Holland*, and, besides costs of suit, should pay a certain sum to the Public, for having thus abused their authority.

The END of the Ninth Volume.

7 AP 53

